

History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion

Part I History



by
Khazan Singh
edited by
Prithipal Singh Kapur

The first comprehensive work on the history and religion of the Sikhs was produced by Khazan Singh, an Extra Assistant Commissioner. He was aware that many Sikhs and non-Sikhs had written on this subject. He had a lot of appreciation for the 'splendid work' of Macauliffe, and he looked upon the work of Giani Gian Singh as extremely useful. However, most of the works published by English writers were 'extremely defective' and 'in many ways misleading'. A systematic account of the religion and history of the Sikhs, a truer and a fuller account, was needed. Towards this end, Khazan Singh published his work *History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion* in two volumes in 1914 on the basis of nearly all the important sources available at that time.

—J.S. Grewal

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Sikh Religion**

In Two Parts

Part I : History

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SATVIC
BOOKS

History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion

(Part I : History)

by

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Edited by

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Khazan Singh

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EARLY SIKH HISTORIOGRAPHY

Historical writing on Sikhism can be viewed in the right perspective only if it is accepted that the bedrock of the story of the Sikhism is the doctrine propounded by Guru Nanak and his successors. Secondly it has to be noted that the first stage of historical writing on Sikhism presented itself as accumulation of such records only; wherein the main focus remained the teachings of the Sikh Gurus. That is why we find the earliest writings on the Sikhs as no more than story-telling by the Sikhs themselves and referral by others. The eighteenth and nineteenth century writings on the Sikhs; especially belong to this genre. However, from the nineteenth century onwards, and particularly after the annexation of the Punjab, when the western influence began to permeate, we find even the classicists attempting such writings in verse as well as in prose that would contain fuller account of the rise and fall of the Sikh kingdom, besides the history of the Sikh Gurus. As the interaction increased between the British officers and their subordinates, the Indian officers belonging to different faiths vied with one another, to present before their British masters; what they thought to be the real complexion of the faith that they professed and highlight such peculiarities therein which could claim to have superiority over the other traditions. But not many Sikh officers got attached to in-depth study of their religion and history. However, we come across the names of Khazan Singh and Sewa Ram Singh who can be rated as pioneers in Sikh historical writings. While Khazan Singh brought out a 2-volume set entitled *History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion* (1914), Sewa Ram Singh confined his study to the construction of the biography of Guru Nanak and logical presentation of the Sikh doctrine (*A Critical Study of the Life and Teachings of Sri Guru Nanak Dev*, the Founder of Sikhism, 1904 and *The Divine Master : Life and Teachings of Guru Nanak*, 1930).

Khazan Singh was among the earliest beneficiaries of the Anglo-Indian system of education introduced by the British in Punjab. Hailing from Sialkot district (now in Pakistan), he decidedly belonged to the new middle class; and was able to make it to the P.C.S because of his perseverance and hardwork. Interestingly, Syad Mohammad Latif the celebrated author of the voluminous work on history of the Punjab (first published in 1889 A.D.) also belonged to the same cadre of civil service. Khazan Singh won admiration from his superiors for his 'honesty and sincerity.' But despite his loyalty to the British regime, he remained an ardent Sikh who had a firm belief in the divinity of Guru Nanak and originality of his creed. His devotion to the faith impelled him to undertake the task of producing a comprehensive work on the history and religion of the Sikhs in two volumes which remains the first such work accomplished by a Sikh. Khazan Singh did not see any contradiction in the teachings of Guru Nanak and the creation of the Khalsa by Guru Gobind Singh.

A modern historiographer might dismiss Khazan Singh as an amateur, attempting to compile a narrative of events concerning the origins of the Sikh faith; its progress and rise of the Sikhs to a sovereign status in the land of their birth. Some others might describe the re-appearance of Khazan Singh's work in an edited form as an exercise in futility but those interested in having a glimpse of the earliest complexion of Sikh historiography and understanding the pioneer's approach to the subject, will surely find its re-appraisal worth the exercise. It is interesting that Khazan Singh does not seek to trace the origin of Sikh religion as a reformist movement or as a phenomenal consequence of Hindu-Muslim contact. He also does not care to perceive the relationship of the Sikh doctrine with the teachings of the *Bhaktas* who flourished in India during the period immediately preceding Guru Nanak or happened to be his contemporaries. He looks at the 'Universe in Flux' as the cause of Nanak's appearance in history and perhaps borrows this thesis from Bhai Gurdas (*var I, pauri 17*) and hastens to conclude that "Khalsa religion is practically the renaissance of the oldest of the religions of the world with few modifications if any, and it was the sacred mission of Guru Nanak to restore

the oldest and catholic religion in the world." It is noteworthy that Khazan Singh takes pains to delineate the state of religion and society in the age of Nanak and thereafter brings into focus the relevance of the mission of Guru Nanak.

As Khazan Singh proceeds, he first looks at the source-material available to him critically. He found them scanty and not very reliable. He examines the accounts of the authors like Khafi Khan and their sources of information on the Sikhs particularly in the light of the "orders of prohibition in regard to chronicles issued by Aurangzeb." Khazan Singh notes that "these orders were strictly enforced and do not appear to have been withdrawn" immediately after the death of Aurangzeb. He also notes that information about various occurrences and transactions did not reach Khafi Khan who begs that variations in his stories may be excused. Khazan Singh also critically analyses the references of the Hindu traditionalists who initially looked askance at the utterances of Guru Nanak. His analysis of the *Janam Sakhis* and the possible interpolations made therein, though not penetrating; has to be seen in the light of the advancement of historical knowledge and methodology followed at the time when Khazan Singh was engaged in this exercise. For him, Guru Granth and *vars* of Bhai Gurdas are primary sources. But he uses Santokh Singh and Gian Singh extensively although he laments that these works had been produced more or less under the influence of *Brahmin* priestly class who were then looked upon as men of knowledge. Despite all this, he refrains from taking a negative approach or getting cynical towards the sources he handles. This remains the merit of his work throughout. Like his contemporary biographers of Guru Nanak (Sewa Ram Singh) and Guru Gobind Singh (Bhagat Lakshman Singh), he used the available sources with a sceptical mind and ensured that narrative of his comprehensive account remained close to rationality while he presented Sikhism as a new faith with a distinct identity. Herein lies the importance of Khazan Singh's history and philosophy of Sikhism which was intended to be a 'truer and fuller account of the Sikhs' presented in the language of the rulers of the time.

Still he refrains from including such accounts in his narrative that bring in miraculous or legendary tales. Khazan

Singh appears to be more interested in the origin of Sikh faith than in the political history of the Sikhs. That is why we find him least fair to Banda Singh Bahadur, where he chose to follow Giani Gian Singh in toto without any critical analysis of the situations and circumstances. As compared to this, his portrayal of the eighteenth century struggle waged by the Sikhs against the Mughals and the Afghans and their perseverance, though bereft of historical references, describes the conditions of the times vividly with insight and zeal. The account of Sikh Misl and achievements of Maharaja Ranjit Singh are too sketchy to be taken seriously. For the downfall of the Khalsa Kingdom, Khazan Singh holds intrigues and counter intrigues of the courtiers responsible and as a loyal officer of the British Government he hails "the restoration of good benign and constitutional government which ensured religious tolerance and peace to the people."

Khazan Singh sought to present the Sikhs as "a community who occupy a prominent place among the Indian races on account of their martial instincts and loyalty to the British" and he wanted Sikhism to be looked upon as a universal religion with a cosmopolitan character. As a bureaucrat, he was an ardent admirer of the British and their administrative system which earned him the title of Sardar Sahib. As a devout Sikh and a staunch reformist, the Sikh affairs ever remained close to his heart and this fact is mentioned by Narain Singh M.L.C. (Gujranwala) and S.B. Mehtab Singh who often consulted him during negotiations for the legislation of Gurdwara Act of 1925. But he had no admiration for the Akalis and their struggle against the British. As such; he remained critical of the Gurdwara management and Master Tara Singh, the Akali stalwart; even after the passage of the Gurdwara Act (1925). He stuck to this position till his death in 1953 A.D. It is in the light of these facts that we have to understand his position as a historiographer who gives little space to diplomatic relations between Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the British and the wars of the Sutlej fought in 1845-46 and 1848-49 where the British policies could have to be projected in bad light.

The importance of Khazan Singh's *History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion*, lies in the fact that it was the first

comprehensive account of the Sikh history presented by a Sikh in English. Though it might not stand favourably in comparison to some insightful studies made by his contemporary British officers and Syad Muhammad Latif, yet it did attract attention and inspired many a budding scholar to engage themselves in the area of historical study of the Sikhs and Sikhism. Thirty-six years after the publication of Khazan Singh's work, two stalwarts of the field of Sikh studies namely Teja Singh and Ganda Singh who had written extensively on various periods of Sikh history, presented to the scholarly world their *History of the Sikhs*, vol. I (1469-1765) which they themselves described as "The first attempt to write a history of the Sikhs from a secular stand-point, to show how the foundations of their characters were laid by the Gurus who were their temporal as well as spiritual guides, how their political institutions grew out of their religious origins and national needs, how sufferings intensified their character and moulded their national aim, which was nothing less than the deliverance of their country from the grip of the foreigners and how the Sikh cause which was the country's cause, triumphed after a severe and patient struggle extending over a century and ultimately gave the Sikhs the sovereignty of the Punjab." If seen in this perspective, Khazan Singh's work can be rated as earliest of the serious and purposeful studies in the field of Sikh historiography.

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May 31, 2003.

Prithipal Singh Kapur

INTRODUCTION

1. THE UNIVERSE IS IN A STATE OF FLUX

It is an admitted fact that the researches of human thought are confined to the power of each individual mind. It will also be admitted that human knowledge is very imperfect and that this imperfection will continue for times to come.¹ Man does not know his own self, his soul and life, and is wandering hither and thither in doubt whether there is a soul or not, and whether that soul is perishable or imperishable.² He does not know that machinery is spontaneously working within him, whether he is wide awake or fast asleep. He does not know the constituents of his own body, as if he were sitting in a dark room full of precious gems which he is unable to discern and value. He cannot see and feel thousands of living germs and worms in his stomach and body even though some of them have considerable dimensions. Just as physical light is required to see things in a dark room, so is spiritual light required to see things within us. As physical light is produced by the ignition of physical fire which exists on all material bodies as well as our own self, so is the spiritual light produced by igniting the spiritual fire which pervades our own self and all material and immaterial bodies as well as the whole space around us. As

1. Note : The theory of 'shooting stars', may be quoted here as an instance well in point. The scientific world has for ages been believing that 'shooting stars' are bodies which are fixed in the space but when they get displaced they come down to earth emitting a great deal of light. But now it has been established that this whole theory is wrong, and that these heavenly bodies are nothing but birds which emit light on various occasions like the fire fly, which is but a diminutive representative of theirs on earth. Full particulars of these birds have been published separately and they form a startling object lesson for the scientific world. (The above theory was no more than figment of imagination. This obviously was the best explanation worthy of credibility—Ed).

2. Various religious philosophies had created the confusion—Ed.

skill is required to produce physical fire, in the same way self-control is required to produce spiritual fire.

It is beyond question that there are numerous faculties inherent in the human body, and each and every one of them can be developed and perfected by self-culture and exercise. Self-culture raises a man in the intellectual scale according to the particular faculty cultivated and its neglect lowers him in that branch. Elevation may be as high as the Divine abode, and degradation may be as low as the infernal regions. As for instance, the cultivated mind proclaimed as early as the primeval ages that there was an untold number of worlds which formed the universe and there were many accounts of its repeated creations and destructions. However in later ages it was considered as an extravagant and puerile fabrication of the human mind got up simply for the sake of thought and excitement. But the modern scientific and astronomical discoveries are operating to confirm the view that what were considered exaggerations are but inadequate representation of the simple truth.

The creation is in flux. It is neither stable nor stationary. The globe itself which we inhabit is not stationary. Water, heat, cold and air are agencies of production, and at the same time they are very potent agencies of destruction. By their action, even the highest mountains are moulded and gradually carried away. The place of the high mountains which we now see, was once occupied by the unfathomable volume of water, which we call the ocean. The stratification of the earth clearly gives us an insight into this mystery. All this is ever going on by a slow, steady and imperceptible process of oceanic rule of accretion and decretion of divulsion. As an example, we may refer to the lately formed island, which is thousands of miles in extent, at the mouth of the Ganges. According to the laws of Nature, none of the materials which form the world, undergo a fluctuation in their extent. There is usually some apparent dissolution, which is for a limited period only. The above island has eaten up the ocean, and the ocean in its turn has eaten up the land to make room for the water thrown back by the island. Similar war is ever going on between land and water. There is some apparent diminution

in one or the other but it makes no difference in the sum total.³

There is also going on an incessant revolution on the inhabitable earth. The vast uninhabitable jungle which we see today, once formed the most thickly-peopled tracts with most magnificently built towers and palaces. By way of example we can refer to the tract lying between the Jhelum and Chenab, from the present town of Jhelum to the place of confluence of these two rivers. About 2,200 years ago, when Alexander the Great visited the Punjab, there were hundreds of well-built cities and towns (to which Alexander himself added many) with a vast number of villages in that tract, where we now hardly find 10 or 15 towns of any size; and these also, as far as we can judge, are of comparatively recent date. There are only a few thinly populated villages dotted here and there.⁴ Almost all those ancient villages, towns and cities have since disappeared from the surface of the earth. Even the records which contained their names, have crumbled to dust, and we have no idea of them, except what we can gather from the debris we come across there.

Where have all these gone? Some were levelled to the ground by Alexander himself, some were demolished by the foreign invaders who followed him, some fell a prey to epidemics and famines while some had to be abandoned owing to changes in the course of rivers and the drying up of certain streams and so on.

This flux is not confined only to the surface of the earth. It works underground as well as in the subterraneous channels of water. Sweet wells become brackish and saltish become sweet, whilst some go dry altogether.

Time is working such havoc upon the world that nothing can escape it. It out-wits and over-reaches all sorts of circumspection. A time will come, when whatever we see now, may all vanish away, neglected and forgotten. Generations

3. It is a universal law that matter can neither be created nor it can be destroyed.
(*Jo kichh pāiā so ekā vār—Japuji*)—Ed.

4. Note : Since writing the above, this jungle has been cleared and irrigated by the Jhelum Canal and now forms one of the most prosperous tracts in India containing a good many well-built towns and thousands of small villages all over it. (The area has since gone over to Pakistan after the partition of the Indian sub-continent in 1947.—Ed.)

following will wonder and will only be too glad to find out anything by way of a relic. As an example, we find that about 2,300 years ago when Megasthenes, the Grecian Ambassador visited India, the administration of public affairs was carried on in a very singular manner. There were separate departments to carry out the respective functions of the state. There were officers and sets of officers who respectively superintended the civil and military affairs. Some superintended the rivers, measured the land and inspected the sluices by which water was let out from the main canals into their branches so that every one might have needed supply of it. Some superintended the construction of roads and at each *kos* (according to Megasthenes at every 10 stadia)⁵ a pillar was set up to show the by-roads and distances. Industrial arts were duly looked after. The entertainment of foreigners, their lodging, the protection of their persons and property, their safe escort to their country, and the safe return of their property to their relations in case of their death, were duly attended to. The registration of births and deaths was properly carried out. The superintendence of trade and commerce, weights and measures, of commodities sold and manufactured was duly maintained. Theft was a rare occurrence. Truth and virtue were held in esteem. No special privilege was accorded to the old, unless they possessed superior wisdom. Arrian says that the inhabitants were good husbandmen and excellent soldiers, and that they lived peaceably, their rules imposing nothing harsh or unjust upon them. If we, at this stage of time, attribute all these things to the Hindu period, they will appear to a prejudiced eye, more as things of dream than realities. But here is the fragmentary evidence brought by foreigners, whilst India, whose fate and personal interest are concerned, cannot say a word on the subject. Why is it so? Because all her records have either been cast into the flames by the merciless and relentless hands of some of her conquerors, or were from fear or otherwise concealed in deep recesses of the earth, and have never since seen the light of day.

As oceanic and fluvial actions affect the surface of the

5. A graduated staff used for measuring ground distances through the angle that the graduations subland at a point.—Ed.

earth, so do political changes influence the morals of the people. The old sacred books of the Hindus indicate that in ancient times the moral standard in India was considered to be the most sublime. For instance, falsehood was practically unknown, and whenever detected was strictly punished by ex-communication of the liar from his brotherhood. This state of affairs seems to have continued upto the advent of the Muhammadan rule in India. Megasthenes, a Greek witness who visited India about 2,300 years ago, testifies to the fact. The Arab writers of the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries A.D. speak in clear and glowing terms about the high and unblemished character of the Hindus. An Arabian writer of 851 A.D. says that the inhabitants of India Abstain from licentiousness and from all sorts of wile, and that there is nothing indecent to be seen in the country.

Abul Hussan, a native of Baghdad, who died in 956 A.D. endorses the above remarks and adds that in India a king who drinks wine is not considered fit to govern his people and forfeits the crown.

Abu Abdullah Muhammad, *alias* Al Idris, who was born towards the end of the 11th century A.D. explains that Indians are naturally inclined to justice, never departing from it in their actions. He says that they are famous for their good faith, their honesty and fidelity to their engagements. Among other characteristic marks of their love of truth and horror of vice he states that 'when a man has right to demand anything of another, and he happens to meet him, he has only to draw a circular line upon the ground to make his debtor enter it, which the latter never fails to do, and the debtor cannot leave the circle without satisfying his creditors, or obtaining the remission of debt.'⁶

There are many more similar examples which go to establish the fact that the moral standard of the Indians before the advent of the Muhammadan rule was highly perfect; such as no country or clime could ever surpass. But later on it began to lower and loosen and with the establishment of the Muhammadan rule, it fell into such horrible decay that even the very idea of it makes us shudder. Again with the overthrow of that rule, it began to rise, but the progress has been very

slow. Most of the people are deceitful, lustful, vicious and untruthful. Honesty and good faith are practically unknown. Exceptions are .001 in 100. The higher a person is in social or public status, the more subdued he is to evil temptations, and the more disposed to dupe and deceive both the public and its ruling power. Modern India thus forms a low, wretched and despicable contrast to ancient India. This is mostly due to the political changes, moral and spiritual degradation of the people. The rulers, moral and spiritual leaders influence the people as the shade of various trees and the light of sun and moon which are in the heavens, affect the crop upon earth. Their laws and tenets are just like sweet or brackish waters with which a land is irrigated, and their respective courts and administrators are the channels through which irrigation is effected. Their executives are gardeners and distributors of waters from the main canal. And the condition of the crop generally is according to the irrigation they have received. As sound care and wholesome irrigation are required to raise a bumper crop, similarly a sound government and wholesome spiritual tuition is required to raise the moral standard of a people.

As with the physical, political and moral world, so is the case with the spiritual world. Since the creation of the world, there have appeared in the world's arena, thousands of religions which after playing their respective parts, have retired into the limbo of oblivion. Diverse religions, or rather the believers in them, have always been warring upon each other, just like the animal world. The stronger has always been swallowing or trying to swallow the weaker, as do the fish and the beasts of prey. As far as we can see by inference from the oldest Hindu or foreign records, the present Khalsa religion is practically the renaissance of the oldest religion of the world, with few modifications, if any. And it was the sacred Mission of Guru Nanak to restore the oldest and catholic religion in the world.

Sikh religion if studied with an open mind, offers high ideals of life for a man to follow. Truth when crushed to earth shall rise again. The teachings of the Gurus breathe nothing but Truth : the plain, simple and whole Truth. It may be hidden from the superficial observers, but it would, for that very reason,

make a search for it all the more interesting. It is a pity that even Sikhs are generally unaware of the worth of their great inheritance. I have, therefore, endeavoured in these pages to collect a few gems taken out of the great treasure houses left by Gurus for us, in order that others may do the same for the good of the world.

2. MATERIALS FOR WRITING THE HISTORY

As is generally the case in writing histories and biographies, especially the first of their kind, it is a very difficult task to glean out facts for the compilation of a work like this. No authentic and reliable data are available. The reasons are that Guru Nanak and his successors were born in a dark age when the Muhammadan power was paramount in India, the religious fanaticism of the ruling race was tremendously high, and the oppression of the Hindu or non-Muslim populations was beyond description. In such a period the Guru, who was a mere *faqir*, and not a political agitator, must have been passed unnoticed by Muhammadan historians. Again when the Sikh religion assumed a political tendency, its mention by the Muhammadan historian cannot be accepted without suspicion. Their writings mostly concern military operations or the struggle of the Khalsa to overthrow the unjust and tyrannical Muhammadan power in India. They are not to be accepted as unbiassed and impartial for various reasons, chief among which are religious bigotry, and the imperial prohibitions against the faithful record of events. Moreover the true history (if it be so called from religious and political points of view) merges into mist and thick darkness never to see the light again, after the time when Aurangzeb, after imprisoning his father, Shah Jahan, the Emperor of Delhi, begins to clear the field of other claimants, his brothers, including the rightful heir to the throne. When death or the dungeon had removed them from the list of candidates, Aurangzeb formally ascended the throne on 26th May 1659 A.D. For about the first ten years of his reign, he showed very little of the religious zealot and was busy in strengthening his resources. Nevertheless, in secret he was nursing his zeal for the faith and he began to display it when he found himself safe and free to do so. His repressive policy

against the Hindus began to operate in 1668 A.D.⁷ When his policy began to exceed the bounds of humanity, he appears to have felt it, but instead of putting a stop to it, he in his usual crooked and hypocritical way, devised to keep it secret from the public, preventing the descent of its details to the succeeding generations. Therefore in about 1669 A.D., he suddenly put a stop to the system of recording official chronicles, a system in which, since the time of Akbar, all events were minutely recorded by royal chroniclers. All authors, both public and private were strictly forbidden to write any chronicles at all. And whatever accounts have come down to us were recorded in secret or committed to memory and not until long after the death of Aurangzeb, were they reduced to writing. Moreover the accounts we have, are not continuous, there being a great many missing links, and the records being of a fragmentary character in various respects.⁸

Khafi Khan refers to persons who secretly wrote abridged accounts of the first few years of Aurangzeb's reign, and admits that merely, details of conquests were given. Reference to the misfortunes affecting the Imperial troops being altogether omitted. He declares that for a long period of Aurangzeb's reign, he had no authoritative and reliable records to serve as the basis of his writings. The sources of his information that he informs us were :

- (a) papers in public offices;
- (b) inquiry from truthful persons;
- (c) confidential and old servants of the Emperor;
- (d) the old eunuch; and
- (e) the repository of his own memory in which he laid up materials for thirty or forty years before it was committed to writing !!

It also appears that Khafi Khan's financial condition was very precarious. He had no money to help him in obtaining information or preserving it when collected. On page 726 of Vol. II, under the head 'Personal to the Author', he remarks, "But as notices of various occurrences and transactions did not reach the author, and as through distress and the unfriendliness

7. S. Lanepoole, *Aurangzeb*.

8. S. Lanepoole, *Elphinstone and Khafi Khan*.

of fortune, he was unable to procure papers for his draft, and as discrepancies in the various statements became greater, if it should appear that in any place the authority differs in any particulars from other histories and writers, who themselves may not be free from partiality, and as variations will appear in the most trustworthy histories," he begs that his stories may be excused. These remarks were made by the author at the time when he was dealing with the events which occurred about 1712 A.D. or soon after the death of Bahadur Shah.

The prohibitive orders in regard to chronicles issued by Aurangzeb were strictly enforced, and they do not appear to have been immediately suspended or withdrawn after his death. When he died, wars of succession started between the brothers who aspired to the throne, and it took some time before order was restored in the empire. Aurangzeb died in March 1707 A.D., and Guru Gobind Singh died within two years after him, Aurangzeb's successor during that period was too busy in wars internecine or other, to direct his attention to matters like this, and the prohibitory order issued by his father does not appear to have been withdrawn. Khafi Khan's history was produced during the reign of Muhammad Shah, which means more than twenty years after the death of Aurangzeb. There appears to be no record in existence, upon which implicit reliance can be placed in respect of the truth of any event or the time.

Moreover, a comparison of various authors who have dealt with the same event independently of each other would in many cases, clearly prove that no two authors have agreed with regard to the exact date thereof. They greatly differ in the narration of the same events, and the difference of dates is generally very prominent. Besides this the Muhammadan authors have, as a rule, adopted the lunar calendar and to find out the exact corresponding solar date is not an easy matter. Again the assimilation of the Sambat to the Christian era is rather confusing. The author's hold, as a general rule, a difference of 57 years between these two eras but that is not the case. As the interval between the New Year's Day of the respective eras is $3\frac{1}{2}$ months, therefore the difference during that period has to be taken at 56 and not 57 years. I have tried my best to give, as far as possible, the most accurate calculations in this respect.

Many Sikh historians have taken Khafi Khan as the most accurate and dependable historian, but I cannot eulogize him with these epithets. He may be comparatively so, but not entirely. He was, like others, not free from religious bigotry, as the wording of his chapter on Sikhs shows. He calls them infidels, and the haphazard and off-handed manner in which he deals with the subject, clearly proves that the authority on which he based his history of the Sikhs was nothing but mere hearsay. Therefore his writings should be carefully weighed and tested before they are accepted. Where the bravery of the Khalsa has extorted praise from the Muhammadan writers, we must assume that the historians have still underestimated it.

It must also be remembered that each historian has a particular aim in view on which he focuses his attention, giving to other subjects only a brief side-view or hint in the abstract where necessary. If he were to give full details of all occurrences of a continent like India, his task would be unmanageable and difficult to bring to completion in his own lifetime.

Now let us consider what could be expected from the Hindu writers. They were not favourably disposed towards Guru Nanak, because from his very childhood, he had set himself to the task of rejecting their religious absurdities, rituals, superstitions, subservience to the caste bondage, polytheism, and idol-worship. The Hindus, especially the so-called high castes, looked askance at him and termed him vicious, benighted trespasser, and religious offender. However, later on, those who realized his worth and position, began to follow him. Some isolated *Sakhis* or stories of certain acts of his were written by different authors and at different times and places. When he arrayed himself in *faqir's* attire he became famous and grew very popular among adherents of all religions and sects of all the regions he visited. In the process, many anecdotes became current about him. They were rather imperfect and full of anachronisms. Soon after the death of Guru Nanak, his successor, Guru Angad, at the dictation of Bhai Bala (who had accompanied Guru Nanak practically throughout his travels) drew up a *Janam Sakhi* or biography in Gurmukhi script. This appears to have had but a small circulation since there was no

press or printing machine in those days, nor were copyists or readers largely available, as the Gurmukhi characters were not much in vogue then, being a very recent invention. Later on, the biography was wholly corrupted. The mutilated or corrupted copies were largely circulated and the genuine ones suppressed. There were causes at work which led to the forming of a conspiracy to falsify the biography with a view to rendering misty and suspicious in order to shake the faith of the Guru's followers. The disciples of Kabir found that the fame of their leader was clouded and overshadowed by the honour and glory of Guru Nanak and his successors. Therefore they, in collusion with certain Hindus, falsified the biography and tried to indicate that Nanak was Kabir's disciple, that Kabir was much higher in spiritual elevation than the Guru and had gained personal attendance on the Almighty as his *Vazir*. Relying on these interpolations, the followers of Kabir have compiled a book which had often misled the foreign and non-Sikh writers who infer that the Guru was a disciple of Kabir. For instance in his *Religion of India*, Mr. E.W. Hopkins remarks on page 511 that the Guru was the nominal founder of the Sikhs, "A body which, as Nanak claimed was embodying the religion of Kabir himself, of whom he claimed to be a follower." Elphinstone and Hunter shared the same view and described him as a disciple of Kabir. Raja Siva Parsad in Chapter XIII, Part I of his *History of Hindustan*, says that the Guru was one of the disciples of Kabir. To deceive the public was the object of all those engaged in distorting the *Janam Sakhi* account and that was largely gained.

After the Kabirpanthis, the successors of Baba Hindal appeared on the scene to play their part. Hindal was a jat who served the third and fourth Gurus. His services were confined to the kitchen. Once, the fourth Guru was much pleased with his humble behaviour and blessed him. He thereupon founded his own institution at Jandiala about 10 miles from Amritsar. His successors, after some time, became very powerful and were endowed with a large *jagir* from the Imperial Darbar at Delhi. One of them named Bidhi Chand became loose in his morals and kept a *Mirasan*⁹ as his mistress. The Sikhs then

9. A low caste Mohammadan woman.

began to reprove and reproach him for his conduct. He took it ill and infested Guru Nanak's *Janam Sakhi* with interpolations, making vicious attacks upon his character with a view to covering his own shameful conduct. He made certain nefarious remarks in order to create an authority according sanction to his own vileness. The original *Janam Sakhi* chanced to fall into the hands of his followers and it was torn up and thrown into the river.¹⁰ Before this fiendish act was committed, the original was copied, omitting many connecting links. It was rendered suspicious in various wars and was interpolated with many fictitious and infernal stories regarding the character of Guru Nanak and Angad and the rise of Baba Hindal. Guru Nanak was represented as having prophesied the rise of Hindal both in power and sanctity much higher than himself. After this diabolical act became known, the Sikhs started hating Hindalis or Hindal's followers, who became sworn enemies of the Khalsa nation and played a prominent part in concerting with the Governor of Lahore for the extermination of that nation.

We at this stage cannot properly say who the other conspirators were. For want of reliable evidence we must reserve our thesis in that respect. However one thing is certain; that during the time of the third Guru the so-called high caste Hindus were much disaffected owing to the introduction of novel Sikh institutions which began to supersede the old Hindu rituals including the caste system. The priestly castes were enraged, and it is quite possible that some of the other disaffected Hindus may have joined them. This assumption is supported by the fact that spurious copies had gained a large and immediate circulation, suppressing the genuine ones. The fact of the tampering with the genuine copy of *Janam Sakhi* was brought to the notice of the fifth Guru. He thereupon signed and sealed a genuine copy.¹¹ That authenticated copy is not procurable now. If it could be found, it would set at rest many points which are at issue now-a-days and are being hotly discussed.

10. See *Nanak Parkash* and Bhai Gian Singh's *Twarikh Guru Khalsa*.

11. Manuscript of an old mutilated copy of Bhai Mani Singh's *Sakhis*, which has been found in possession of a Sikh gentelman in Chenab Colony, in Chak No. 294, on the Gogera branch of the Chenab Canal.

There seems, no doubt, that there were a good many reliable and authenticated works of the Sikh Gurus which, had they existed, would have supplied us with very valuable and adequate materials for our guidance. Unfortunately none of them, so far as our present researches have extended, has come down to us except the holy Granth. The reasons are manifold. There were quarrels in regard to succession. Whenever an outsider was put in, the descendants of the predecessor became deadly opposed to him; and they, as can naturally be expected, withheld all or most of the records of their ancestor. Again, it appears, that Guru Gobind Singh had collected and compiled considerable and valuable literature both general and religious. He had employed 52 eminent scholars or literary luminaries for the purpose, and they were well up in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. All that literary treasure was stored in the fort at Anandpur. But during the siege of that fort, as explained in a later chapter, almost whole of it, alongwith other heavy baggage and valuables, was thrown into the river in order to avoid its falling into the hands of the enemy. Afterwards, when at the request and under the promises and oaths of the hill Rajas and Imperial officers, the fort was evacuated; besiegers broke their faith and attacked the Guru and his family folk unawares, then a serious disaster befell them. The river¹² which the Guru had to cross, was in spate and the enemy, in overwhelming numbers, closed in pursuit. The Guru had only a handful of men to check the progress of the pursuing enemy. It was then that all the baggage was abandoned, the women folk having had a narrow escape. In that disaster, whatever there was in the shape of us are mere fragments which had gone into circulation before the last siege of Anandpur.

After the death of Guru Gobind Singh, the Hindus generally and the Khalsa particularly were subjected to extreme hardships and oppression. The hill Rajas were already bitterly hostile to the Khalsa and other Hindus, especially those proud of their high caste, resented them and sneered at them, owing to the abolition of the caste system. The caste system was of extreme concern to the priestly classes, affecting their prestige, their revenue and social standings. Thus they tried their best,

12. It was River Sirsa.

directly or indirectly to injure the new religion. Other Hindus also voluntarily or under the coercion of the authorities, joined in the extermination of the Khalsa. The Khalsa then had no home except the lonely and distant jungles. They had no provisions to live upon, except the natural wild vegetation and the flesh of wild animals. At times the jungles of their abode were hemmed in and set on fire. They were outlawed and banished. High rewards were bestowed for their heads. Refuge and protection afforded to them brought a heavy penalty and utter ruin on the offender. In Sambat 1805 (1748 A.D.), Diwan Lakhpat Rai, a Government servant at Lahore, vowed to exterminate the Khalsa. Invested by the Viceroy of Lahore with full powers and absolute authority, at the head of all the available Imperial forces and country levies, he started a campaign of destruction, annihilation and extermination of the Khalsa religion, root and branch. He destroyed everything which he could lay his hands on; life, property, literature, holy books or anything else which might have served as relics of that religion. In short, nothing escaped his relentless hands.

It is nothing short of a miracle that the Holy Granth was left intact during such up-heavels, both political and religious. In severity, the search did not fall short of the edict of the Chinese Emperor issued in 213 B.C. for the destruction of all the old classical books and the sacred books called Shu or Shih. Nay it was more than that. All who professed the Khalsa faith were doomed to a wholesale and indiscriminate slaughter irrespective of sex or age. The Khalsa had no shelter to keep their property in, while the cruel hunters remained ever on prowl. In such a state of affairs, the preservation of any record either under or above the surface of the earth was out of the question and of remote possibility.

We have seen that no records could be preserved during the Muhammadan rule. Now we proceed to consider the few we possess. We have already stated that during the lifetime of Guru Nanak, the people had begun to reduce to writing the accounts of his travels in piecemeal and isolated stories. In some cases it appears that the date given to a *Sakhi* (evidence or story) was the date on which it was written. As for instance an old manuscript which has been obtained by us purports to

be that of Bhai Bala, but in the body of the book, the 15th *Sakhi* begins as follows :

“ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥ ਸਾਖੀ ਲਿਖਤੇ ਮਹਲਾ ੧ ॥ ਸੰਮਤ ਪੰਦ੍ਰਾਂ ਸੈ ਇਕਾਸੀ ੧੫੮੧
ਅੱਸ੍ਰੁ ਦੁਆਦਸੀ ॥ ਵਾਰ ਛਿਨਛਰ ਪਹਰ ਦਿਨ ਰਹਿੰਦਾ ਸੀ ਲਾਹੌਰ ਵਿਚ ॥”

This goes to show, to some extent, that the *Sakhi* was written in Sambat 1581, or during the lifetime of Guru Nanak. The beginning of the *Sakhi* is an unusual one and does not occur in any other case. A perusal of that *Sakhi* shows that it relates to a period when only Mardana¹³ was with the Guru, and Bhai Bala¹⁴ was at home. His name is not mentioned therein.

Again the 16th *Sakhi* also appears to have been separately written. It has only in its beginning. ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥ This also omits the name of Bhai Bala, who, it appears, was not at the time with the Guru.

These and similar other facts go to establish our theory that even during the lifetime of the Guru the people had written isolated stories which they had heard from Mardana or from others, and they were incorporated in the later *Janam Sakhi* by Bhai Bala, which was compiled in Sambat 1597, by the compiler himself or by subsequent editors.

It might be assumed¹⁵ that the Gurmukhi characters were not known at the time, but their non-existence could not prohibit the writing of a *Janam Sakhi* or any piece of a biographical account. There were then many different vernacular characters extant which were quite capable of being used for committing the oral tradition to writing. And the hymns of Guru Nanak were preserved and handed down to the following generations very copiously.

It may also be noted that as far as our enquiries go, the Gurmukhi characters were invented by Guru Nanak himself and during his time the people had begun to learn them. It was only six months after his death, when Guru Angad instituted inquiries regarding a scholar who knew Gurmukhi and Sanskrit as well, that Paira Mokha supposed to be the scribe of the

13. Mardana affectionally called Bhai by Guru Nanak was a minstrel who remained life long attendant/companion of the Guru.—Ed.

14. The narrator of *Janam Sakhi*, associated with his name.—Ed.

15. This assumption is refuted by the inner evidence of *Sri Guru Granth Sahib* since we have *Bani* named *Patti* in Raag Asa.—S.G.G.S., p. 432—Ed.

Janam Sakhi, was traced. He was resident of Sultanpur (in Kapurthala District) where Guru Nanak had spent many years in the service of the Nawab (Daulat Khan) of that place. Guru Angad was at Khadur, when he made the inquiry and the *Janam Sakhi* was written at the latter place. We think that Guru Nanak had formed the Gurmukhi characters in or about his forties.

It also appears that either during the lifetime of the Guru or shortly thereafter, private individuals began to write his biographies in a systematic form by collecting isolated accounts of his life. An author compiled the one which was presented by Mr. Colebrooke¹⁶ to the East India Company in or about 1815 A.D. The form of its characters show that it must have been written long ago. That *Janam Sakhi* is either the original or a very old copy. The characters are not well formed and fully developed as we see them later on. As stated in the following chapter, this manuscript is not a continuous chronicle of the Guru's life but a mass of isolated and detached *Sakhis*. It seems to be a compilation, independent of that of Bhai Bala. It has no introduction, nor concluding pages, which might have thrown some light upon its authorship as well as the date and sources of its compilation. I have also been kindly lent an old manuscript which is a copy of Mr. Colebrooke's manuscript. It shows that the latter had a long introduction, but unfortunately, this copy also is incomplete and keeps us in dark with regard to the points in reference.

The most complete and trustworthy biography is that written by Paira Mokha¹⁷ at the dictation of Bhai Bala¹⁸ who

16. Henry Thomas Colebrooke was born in London on 15th June, 1765. He joined the Court of Directors and became Chairman of the East India Company in 1779 A.D. He came to India in 1783. In 1805, he became President of the Court of Appeal. In 1807, he became President of the Asiatic Society and was promoted to a seat in Council. He left India for home in 1815 and died on 10th March 1837 A.D. He was a brilliant Sanskrit scholar.—See Max Muller's *Biographical Essays*.
17. A Khatri of Sultanpur in the Kapurthala State where Guru Nanak had lived for many years especially in the service of the Pathan *faujdar* of that place. Subsequently he shifted his residence to Dan Gali in the Kahuta Tehsil of the Rawalpindi district where his grave (*Smādhi*) still exists. His descendants are now residing in Thoha Khalsa in Tehsil Kahuta (now in Pakistan.—Ed.)
18. Some modern historians hold that there was no such person, and that the name is imaginary with a view to serve the narrator in the fabrication of a biography. A visit to Nankana Sahib (Talwandi), the birth-place of Guru Nanak, proves that Bala was a real person and tradition clearly establishes it.

was a companion of Guru Nanak, especially in his travels, except the western tour towards Makka and Madina. He was a Sandhu jat of Talwandi and appears to have been engaged by Kalu, the Guru's father, while he was very young. Bala was three years younger than the Guru. It also appears that on very few occasions, he was not in the Guru's company and a little trouble, if necessary, would enable us to mark such occasions out. We cannot say that the *Janam Sakhi* contains the whole and entire account of the Guru's life and his hymns, but we are prepared to assert that it contains a good deal of them.

The dilemma in which we find ourselves at this stage, is that it has become impossible to find the original manuscript which was written by Paira Mokha. Even its facsimile or faithful copy is difficult to obtain, as stated above. It was compiled during the time of Guru Angad, who succeeded Guru Nanak, superseding his sons who greatly resented it. Again Guru Angad nominated Amar Das; as his successor leaving aside his own sons. His sons being excluded became very angry. In order to end their quarrels, which were caused by the presence of his successor at Khadur, Guru Angad sent Amar Das to Goindwal and it is doubtful whether after the death of Guru Angad, his sons ever allowed Guru Amar Das to have the original *Janam Sakhi*. Again Guru Amar Das appointed his son-in-law, Guru Ram Das, as his successor. These and similar changes appear to have prevented the successive Gurus from acquiring the manuscript hymns of their predecessors. For example, at the time of the compilation of the Holy Granth, the fifth Guru had to humbly borrow certain manuscript copies¹⁹ which were then in possession of Mohan, a son of Guru Amar Das.

The dissensions caused by the succession to the exclusion of the natural heirs of the Gurus themselves, caused a great difficulty and bar to the currency of the hymns. They began to be tampered with, or were wholly withheld from circulation among the devotees. Besides as explained earlier, the jealous Hindalis and Kabirpanthis vehemently resenting the fame of the Gurus, maliciously vitiated and infected the original *Janam Sakhi*. And to give it a dubious character, they changed the real

19. These are popularly called *Goindwal dian Potbian*—Ed.

date of its compilation to an earlier one when its compilation under the direction of Guru Angad was impossible, because leaving aside the question of his succession, he had not then embraced Guru Nanak's faith. Another theory is that the biographical account was actually written during the lifetime of Guru Nanak but was enlarged, interpolated, and vitiated afterwards by the enemies of the faith or dissenters. This appears to be incorrect.

Although the mischief makers endeavoured to spoil the *Janam Sakhi*, they lost sight of the fact that their forgery was surer to promote than to lower the reputation of the Guru. They admitted what they might have denied otherwise; and thus they furnish us with a testimony which otherwise would have been considered as an improbable exaggeration. But as it comes from the enemies of the faith, it may be received as an indisputable fact. In the heat of the moment the slanderers and detractors failed to realize that spurious coin can always be distinguished from the genuine one. The style of their composition greatly differs from that of the genuine hymns, and the forged hymns or conversational verses are very hollow and shallow. One who is conversant with the style of Guru Nanak's hymns, could at once detect the forgery. We append a specimen of the spurious interpolation to this introduction, and its real worth can be estimated by its careful study. Its text indicates that when Guru Nanak was on his way to the Divine abode, Dhru told him how he could get into that region (the region inhabited by Dhru) as the path was beset with a great many dangers. Dhru is made to say that none other had passed that way before except Kabir.

In response, Guru Nanak is made to say that Kabir has already preceded him whereas Hindal, a jat will follow him that way. At this, Dhru accuses Guru Nanak of lying, as none else was destined to follow him, but Guru Nanak assures him that he was fore-telling a simple fact. Then Dhru says, that the road further on was quite difficult to traverse and Nanak would be unable to pass through. The Guru replies that he must go, but the forger not contenting himself with so much, proceeds to say at that stage what the Guru under the circumstances, cannot reasonably be believed to have said then. Here the forger falls into confusion and loses his self-control. What he aims at is

merely the eulogy of Kabir put into the mouth of Guru Nanak. The author loses the equilibrium of his heart and forgets other considerations of propriety which are necessary on such occasions. And the shallowness of style and incoherence of narration are so striking and at so marked variance with the true composition of the Guru, that the fraud proclaims itself at once.

The *Janam Sakhi* which we now possess are not free from defects. They are all incomplete with many gaps to be filled; and are either apocryphal or corrupted. The former are not widely circulated, but the latter are revised versions; from which the editors have tried to exclude the interpolations. A careful study reveals that much of the textual material still remains to be discarded before it is made acceptable.

It may also be noted here that the disputation of Guru Nanak at Makka were not included in the *Janam Sakhi* which was destroyed by the Hindalis. They form a separate booklet and appear to be altogether reliable. They are written in a language which nobody else can write. A Hindu could not have written them because they denounce the Hindu religion, and a Muhammadan could never have dreamt of such writing, whilst no Sikh has ever been able to produce such a work. It is interspersed with hymns which are to be found in the Holy Granth in their entirety or otherwise. There are also many hymns like those, which convey the same idea but in a slightly different style, found in the Holy Granth. There is strong evidence that this booklet was written before 1604 A.D. when the tobacco plant was introduced into India, (see Chapter XXXII). A reference to the list of intoxicating drugs given in Chapter XXV, does not contain the name of tobacco. If that booklet had been compiled after the introduction of that plant, it must have also been named. In Guru Gobind Singh's time the practice of smoking was in vogue, and he having condemned it, strictly prohibited its use by his followers. A careful perusal and consideration of the booklet shows that its author was Guru Nanak himself.

Besides the *Janam Sakhi* of Guru Nanak, we have biographies of sixth and the tenth Gurus. The former professes to be about 190 years old, but the name of the writer is not

given in it, and the date of its compilation is doubted by some. The latter was compiled about 110 years ago. There are also some other books, later or earlier, which serve as a useful guide to a historian, but the most prominent of them are *Nanak Parkash* and *Suraj Parkash*, which were compiled by one Bhai Santokh Singh in the nineteenth century. All these works appear to have been written more or less under the influence of the priestly classes. In some cases the authors were entreated to do something for them so that their revenue might not suffer, or that they might not be entirely repudiated by the Sikhs. They wanted to keep the Sikhs as well as the Khalsa²⁰ in any way under their influence. In some cases the influence appears to have been direct, and in others indirect. Bhai Santokh Singh appears to have been helped by many 'able' Pandits under the orders of the Raja of Kaithal and that work also, which was compiled with so much care and labour, could not discard the mythical approach and such other insinuations of the conservative priestly classes.

Moreover want of imperfection of knowledge gave ample opportunity to the polytheistic and conservative Pandits to mislead the Sikh authors who were half educated. For the Sikhs it was a matter of no little difficulty to gain knowledge during the troubled and stormy days which followed the death of Guru Gobind Singh. They were obliged to put wrong or misleading construction on the hymns of the Gurus.

As explained elsewhere, Guru Gobind Singh used different names for the Lord according to His functions. The compositions and hymns of the Gurus, especially those of the tenth and the last, have a peculiar style and rhyme of their own, to understand which a very deep and extensive knowledge is required. The same word is used in different places in different and variegated senses. For instance, 'Kāl' means Time, Death and Almighty. In the biographical writings of the *Chaubis Avtars*, the tenth Guru says :

ਕਾਲ ਸਭਨ ਕੋ ਪੇਖ ਤਮਾਸਾ
ਅੰਤਰ ਕਾਲ ਕਰਤ ਹੈ ਨਾਸਾ॥੨॥...
ਅੰਤ ਕਰਤ ਸਭ ਜਗ ਕੋ ਕਾਲਾ।
ਨਾਮੁ ਕਾਲ ਤਾ ਤੇ ਜਗ ਡਾਲਾ॥੯॥

20. For the author 'Khalsa' means a baptised Sikh.—Ed.

*Kāl²¹ sabhan ko pekh tamāsā,
 Anteh kāl kart hai nāsā.(2)...
 Ant kart sabh jag ko kālā,
 Nām kāl tān te jag dālā.(9)*

In these verses 'Kāl' has three different meanings, i.e., (1) God,²² (2) Time and (3) Death. It is explained that as the Almighty in the end, destroys the whole universe, He is called 'Kāl'.

In the same way 'Kālī' is goddess, and again Kālī is a cannon. Bhagauti is God, Nature, Sword, and a reference to the catalogue and nomenclature of arms. *Shastar Mala* shows how many names one and the same arm has. The name of goddesses are given to arms. It is this mode and style of writing of the tenth Guru which has led many to misunderstand that the Guru accepted polytheism. This gave the selfish Pandits ample opportunity to mislead the Sikhs. Col. Malcolm, the first English author on Sikhism, was led by this and similar writings to believe that Guru Gobind Singh was polytheistic. Other English authors have followed him and adopted the same view. A most able and experienced author like Sir Lepel Griffin, was similarly carried away. Sayad Muhammad Latif could not find means to differ from these authors and some Sikh authors also got confused on the point and being duped by the error, believed and acknowledged what was nothing but a mistake.

In fact, Guru Gobind Singh was nothing but a monotheist. He denounced polytheism and idolatry in even stronger and more emphatic terms than his predecessors. He was a peculiar in his denunciation as in his style. In one of his writings named *Zafarnama*, meaning the epistle of victory, addressed to the Emperor Aurangzeb, he calls himself idol-breaker, and describes the Hindu Rajas of the hills—idol-worshippers.

Thus it would appear that almost all the compilations are not free from misrepresentations and contain, from a religious point of view, much that is incorrect, being based on wrong interpretations of the conservative priestly classes. We must therefore assay what they say in regard to religious matters. Our touch-stone for such purposes is the Holy Granth; the writings of the tenth Guru and the *Vārs* of Bhai Gurdas. Almost all other

21. Some would say 'Time Personified'.

22. 'Kāl' is also Creator and Bhavānī His power of manifestation, vide Chapter XVII

writings are impregnated with more or less of religious bias, or with poetical flights of thought because mostly they are in verse. And their poetical garb must be divested before a fact from them is incorporated in history.

We may add here that of the recent works, the *Twarikh-i-Guru Khalsa* or, as its Urdu version is called *Shamsber Khalsa*, is one of the most careful and laborious compilations that have yet been produced on Sikhism.²³ It has comparatively very few misrepresentations and will be found to be very useful as well as an indispensable guide for a historian.

The *Vārs* of Bhai Gurdas who served as scribe to the fifth Guru in the compilation of the Holy Granth, from a key to the doctrine of the Sikh Gurus. They throw clear light on the fact that Sikhism was a separate religion both from Hinduism and Muhammadanism, and that the Sikhs followed no Hindu customs. They explain the condition and position of Sikhism up to the time of the Sixth Guru, and they appear to be altogether free from any outside influence.

The books on which we can place implicit reliance are the Holy Granth. There are at present two. One was compiled by the fifth Guru, and the other is a collection of miscellaneous hymns of the tenth Guru, and of translations of Sanskrit books done by various authors under his directions. Before we describe the first, we must deal with the latter. The genuine compositions of the tenth Guru which it contains are few in number. The rest are mainly tales of various so-called *Avatars* of Incarnation of Vishnu. These are abstract translations of Sanskrit works. The Guru's own remarks are appended at the end of each translation in which he indicates that excepting the Lord God, he recognized none of such Incarnations. A part of the Granth is occupied by an abstract of the *Ramayan*, over one-quarter contains the abstract of the *Bhagwat*, and about two-fifth described the antics and wiles of women and admonishes the reader to be on his guard. These three subjects occupy nearly two-thirds of the Dasam Granth and the remainder contains the genuine hymns of the tenth Guru, together with other hymns of a miscellaneous character. Some

23. Written towards the close of the nineteenth century.

of these describe the heroic deeds of warlike men and portray a vivid and sprightly picture, the fields of battle in ages gone by, and animate the reader with ideas of military glory, national honour and ascendancy. Thus it is not a Holy Scripture in the true sense of the word, but merely a collection by somebody, of scattered and unconnected fragments which fell into his hands. Some of the tales of women are rather indecent and need be altogether excluded from this volume. However at this stage we have nothing to do with that, but to glean out the true hymns of the tenth Guru, applying to them the test which has been laid down at the end of this chapter.

Thus there is a great paucity and dearth of authentic, reliable and classical works which could be implicitly accepted by an author as basis for his work. Any work which says that the Guru's practice contradicted their assertions should not be believed. The Sikh Gurus were not of the type of men whose actions could ever be at variance with their teachings. Therefore the only true test is the Holy Granth which is the only one—and whatever corresponds with its teachings must be considered as a fact in truth.

The Holy Granth, popularly termed the *Adi Granth* comprises of the hymns of the first five Gurus with a few selections from the hymns of different contemporary votaries irrespective of their caste or religion. These were all collected, arranged and compiled into a volume called *Guru Granth Sahib* by the fifth Guru. The whole collection after its completion, was signed and sealed by him. He forbade his son, the sixth Guru, and his successors to make any addition to it. At the same time, however, he left some space vacant at the end of different *Ragas*, directing that it should be filled up by the hymns of that Guru alone who should sacrifice his head for the sake of truth or righteousness—*vide* Chapter IV, V-411,²⁴ (Biography of the 6th Guru). In accordance with the instructions of the fifth Guru, the hymns of the ninth Guru, who obtained the crown of martyrdom for the sake of truth, were incorporated by the tenth Guru. None of the other Gurus were allowed to contribute to the Granth, whether they composed any hymns or not.²⁵ Now

24. *Gurbilas—Chbevin Patsāhī*.—Ed.

25. The reasons be somewhere else.—Ed.

it remains sealed for ever; no man being authorized to subtract or add to it, anything at all. The true spirit of the Sikh religion is apparent from the hymns contained in the Granth and it forms the touch-stone to assay any hymns which were composed by any of the first nine Gurus, but were not incorporated therein. The tenth Guru composed many hymns and they have a criterion of their own.

While compiling the Granth Sahib, Guru Arjan got books which contained hymns of his first three predecessors, from Mohan, a son of Guru Amar Das, the third Guru. There appear to have been a good many hymns, especially the hymns of the first Guru, which were not incorporated in the Granth. Either they were beyond reach or were purposely left out. The compositions of Guru Nanak appear to have been very extensive. His travels appear to have been throughout the world including the islands. Wherever he went, he spoke the language of the people of the region. The hymns which he recited, were also generally in the language of the people he addressed. Whatever he recited he explained in plain language to the audience. In many cases the hymns were recorded by some members of the audience. In support of his theory, the biography of the Guru which has been received from the India Office may be referred to. It is clear that the author of the biography based portions of his work upon sources of information not accessible to others. The persons whose writings he used were Saido *jat* and Hassu—*lohar* (blacksmith), The Guru recited *Pran Sangli* in Ceylon. It was then reduced to writing and left there with the instructions that its copy be delivered to someone who would go there from *Jambu Dip* (India) to fetch it (vide leaf 185 of the *Janam Sakhi*). Guru Arjan, the fifth Guru, deputed one Pira to bring it, and it was brought accordingly. It contained instructions for the control of the senses and concentration of mind according to the *yoga* system. Guru Arjan considered it to be too difficult and complex for laymen to follow during the Iron Age and did not incorporate it in the Granth in consequence. (Chapter VI, verses 133-148 of the biography of the sixth Guru).²⁶

Bhai Gurdas wrote the Holy Granth at the dictation of the fifth Guru. When it was ready, the Guru gave it to Bhai Banno to have it bound at Lahore. He came to Lahore by marches, and on the way had it copied with the help of the Sikhs who accompanied him. In copying, however, he added to the copy some hymns which he found in certain books which were in possession of the Sikhs forming the retinue which was accompanying the Granth. Both the original and its copy were then bound in Lahore and brought before the Guru. When the Guru asked Bhai Banno the cause of his action, he replied that it was "for the good of the public". The Guru then accepted his copy and signed and sealed it with the remarks that it was *khara* (brackish). And for the future it was termed Bhai Banno's volume, whereas the other was called Bhai Gurdas's. It was directed by the Guru that the two volumes should never be mixed together and that copies should ever be prepared if desired strictly according to the respective contents of the originals. The volume compiled by Bhai Gurdas was kept at Amritsar and the other was, at his own request, taken by Bhai Banno to his village, Mangat, in Tehsil Phalia of the District Gujrat (now in Pakistan). (Life of the Sixth Guru, Chapter IV, verses 402-8 and 418-9).²⁷

As has been shown above, Guru Arjan incorporated in the Granth only a part of the hymns of Guru Nanak. Most of those which were left out, were mere disputations, religious or spiritual, and unnecessary for the purposes of a Granth. In some cases only a few hymns were chosen out of long discourses, the rest being considered superfluous, as in the case of conversations at Makka and Madina. A careful study of the books borrowed from Mohan referred to above, coupled with other circumstances and writings, shows that the selections were made by Guru Nanak himself and the rest were omitted for various considerations. Therefore there is a good deal yet which can be appropriately referred to by a historian. Although what is contained in the Granth is quite enough for religious purposes, there is much which can well be utilized by a historian for the purpose of illustration or explanation of facts.

However, we must be very cautious and discreet in distinguishing genuine from the spurious matter. The criterion to test the genuineness of the hymns which are not in the Holy Granth is found by determining whether they are—

- (1) purely monotheistic;
- (2) calm and dispassionate;
- (3) extremely rapid, perspicuous, highly majestic, most rigidly impartial and entirely free from prejudice;
- (4) handling the extensive generalities in a most concise but clear, precise, and comprehensive manner;
- (5) indicating universal knowledge, unruffled mind, unwearied patience, and profound respect for the sacredness of truth;
- (6) showing veins of gold in the most sterile and dry region of knowledge by very skilful, interesting, sweet and attractive hymns.

In addition to all these they should contain the name of Nanak, and their general style and purport should tally with the hymns of the Holy Granth. Every historian should thus test all the hymns he comes across in the course of his researches, before he makes any attempt to use or refer to them.

3. DATE OF GURU NANAK'S BIRTH

It has long been a question of grave importance as to what was the date of the birth of Guru Nanak. Some say it was the full moon day (*puranmashi*) in the month of *Kartik* V.S. 1526. According to others it was the first day of *Baisakh* of that year. The difference between the two dates is very considerable, being over six months.

The majority of the *Janam Sakhis* declare his birth to be in the month of *Kartik*, whereas a few, including one by Bhai Mani Singh, holds it to be in *Baisakh*. The author of the *Khalsa Rahit Parkash* has taken considerable trouble in going into the question, and has on very plausible grounds decided that it was the first day of *Baisakh*—vide pages 64-69, 3rd edition.

I have carefully gone into the question and have consulted such authorities as I could lay hands on. (A reference to the *Janam Sakhi* by Bhai Bala shows that it was written about six

months after the death of Guru Nanak; the Guru having left for his heavenly abode on *Vadi* 10, *Assu* V.S. 1596, whilst that *Janam Sakhi* was commenced on *Sudi* 5 *Baisakh*, 1597 V.S. The compilation of the book *prima facie*, took considerable time; some say two months and 17 days. Its preface shows that Har Dayal, the family priest of the Guru, used to tell the people that the Guru was born on the full-moon day of *Kartik*. Har Dayal was the writer of the Guru's horoscope which was procured by Guru Angad. (It corroborated the date which was told to the Guru before its production.)

(The *Janam Sakhis* spoiled by the Kabirpanthis, and Hindalis also indicate that the birth took place in *Kartik* and that statement is based upon and is supported by the same authority.)

(Bhai Gian Singh, who has bestowed so much care and labour on his *Twarikh Guru Khalsa*, fixes the birth in *Kartik* *vide* pages 50-1. He also gives a copy of the horoscope. A reference thereto clearly proves that the birth took place in *Kartik* and on full-moon day. In column 8 is given *Suraj Budh-Kartik* and opposite to it in column 2 is *Chandarma Puranmasi* or full moon day.)

Nanak Parkash, a splendid work, indicates the same birthday.

One of the authorities to the contrary is Bhai Mani Singh's declaration that Guru Nanak was born on *Sudi* 3rd of *Baisakh* V.S. 1526, which corresponds with 1st *Baisakh* 1526. The Bhai does not quote any authority. Properly speaking the Bhai's work is not a biography but a commentary on the *Vārs* of Bhai Gurdas, who lived during the time of the fifth Guru. The date of Guru Nanak's birth occurs in his commentary in the 22nd verse of the first *Vār*. He appears to have been misled by the 27th verse of the same *Vār* or some other biographies, as will be explained hereafter. The 27th verse runs, as follows :

Ghar ghar andar dharmsāl hovai kīrtan sadā visōā.

"Each house shall contain a *dharmsal* with perpetual recitals of the laudation of the Lord, like *Baisakhi* or the Hindu New Year's day." The author of the *Khalsa Rahit Parkash* (paragraph 68) also appears to have been misled into the belief

that the *Visoa* here means the first of *Baisakh*, indicative of the birthday of the Guru. In my opinion that is not the case. It is an adjective qualifying the *Kirtan* and means that the Lord's laudatory hymns shall be perpetually recited in every house as on the happy and joyful New Year's day (1st *Baisakh*). That is, every day will be equal to New Year's day for the purpose of such recitations. In no case it goes to establish that the 1st of *Baisakh* was given by Bhai Gurdas as the Guru's birthday. However, if the author of the biography of the sixth Guru is to be believed (and I have no reason to disbelieve him on this respect), Bhai Mani Singh appears to have subsequently repudiated this date. The biography referred to is based on the authority of Bhai Mani Singh. On his part the Bhai says that Guru Gobind Singh had narrated the life of the Guru to Bhai Daya Singh (one of the first five beloved or *piaras*) and he had recited it to Bhai Mani Singh *vide* Chapter I, verse 21.²⁸ Then Bhai Mani Singh, related it to one Bhagat Singh (Chapter IV, verse 18).²⁸ And practically a verbatim record of Bhai Mani Singh's recitations forms the basis of the biography in reference; (see the author's reasons for its compilation at the end of the book). Verse 385 of Chapter IX¹ clearly shows that Guru Nanak was born in *Puranmashi* (full-moon night) in *Kartik*. This biography is alleged to have been compiled in V.S. 1773, i.e. after Bhai Mani Singh's *Janam Sakhi*²⁹ was written, and during his lifetime, as he gained martyrdom in Sambat 1795. It is quite true that the information of the author is second-hand, having descended to him in the fourth place. Verbal records are apt to undergo some sort of change, but facts like the birthday of the Guru are too prominent to be mistaken. In any case the author informs us that full-moon day of *Kartik* was recognized by the tenth Guru as the birthday of Guru Nanak.

There are some other *Janam Sakhis* which indicate the first of *Baisakh* as the birthday of the Guru. As I have already explained in a preceding chapter, the authors of the various *Janam Sakhis* are different. One of these *Janam Sakhis* is that

28. *Gurbilas—Chbevin Patsbahi*.

29. Apparently this Mani Singh is not Mani Singh the martyr. The point requires further investigation.

which has been received from the India Office.³⁰ It was photographed in 1885 A.D., under the order of the Punjab Government. The date of the birth given here is *Sudi* 3rd of *Baisakh*; or the first day of that month according to the solar Calendar. This exactly tallies with that given by Bhai Mani Singh. The author of this book cannot be ascertained as his name is not mentioned in the beginning and its last pages are missing. It appears to have been written entirely independently of that by Bhai Bala, and before it was compiled or its existence was known abroad. As far as I have been able to go through it, the name of Bhai Bala is entirely omitted, and that of Mardana is not properly mentioned throughout the Guru's travels. It indicates that the Guru went to Makka and other places alone, a fact which is clearly contradicted by Bhai Gurdas. This compilation is merely a collection of some traditions or stories which are mostly hearsay. Some portions relating to the travels in Ceylon appear to have been based on the authority of Saido and Gheho, who are said to have accompanied the Guru there. Again the narration of the travels in Kashmir is founded on the authority of Hassan, *lohar* (blacksmith) and Shihan, *Chhimbha* (calico-printer). The hymns are said to have been, at the time of recitation, recorded by the persons referred to, but it is not clear how they, alongwith other particulars reached the author. This sketch omits a great many links in the chain, and in many places it loses harmony and continuity. It is full of abrupt starts and ends which indicate its patched up condition. It also abounds in anachronism. For instance, the Guru is shown to have been married long before he went to Sultanpur, and to have got two sons before the incident of the shade of the tree under which the Guru sat in meditation. This incident occurred when the Guru was only 9 years old and he went to Sultanpur at the age of 21. The whole work seems to be an incoherent collection of traditions mostly wrong, and the date of birth recorded is apparently based on hearsay without any authority at all. The probable reason why the story of the 1st *Baisakh* gained currency seems to be that the people who were not then purged of their Hindu ideas and superstitions except for the

30. It has now been printed and published by G.N.D. University, Amritsar under the name of *B40 Janam Sakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji*.—Ed.

giving up of idol-worship, took the fancy to fix the birthday in correspondence with New Year's day, which, as is generally known, was then held to be very auspicious. The author of the *Janam Sakhi* we refer to, seems to have based his writing on that current idea. It appears that several biographies came into existence independent of each other, or one based upon the other, and some of them contained the wrong date. The time and date of birth given by Bhai Mani Singh practically corresponds with that given in the India Office copy, and he appears to have been misled by that or a similar manuscript coupled with the misunderstanding of the meaning of verse 27 of *Vār 1* (Bhai Gurdas) referred to above.

The biography of the Guru written by Paira Mokha at the dictation of Bhai Bala, seems, notwithstanding the flaws and errors, clerical or otherwise, which we find in its present edition, to be the most trustworthy. The date given therein is based on the strongest authority obtainable and proper enquiry. Moreover the *Janam Sakhis* which were spoiled or maliciously mutilated by Kabirpanthis and Hindalis were as far as I have been able to ascertain, mostly Bhai Bala's and are quite sufficient to establish the true date. In that respect they correspond with the original.

There are also some who think that the *Janam Sakhi* termed as Bhai Bala's³¹ is a mere forgery, and that no such person ever lived or accompanied the Guru. They assign different reasons for their suspicion and in some cases, they support their conjecture by the *Vārs* of Bhai Gurdas. I have studied most of the authorities and have examined them. There seems no reason why such a forgery should have been committed, and the reasons they advance to support their views are inadequate. I could rebut them all, but it seems unnecessary to lengthen this chapter with such a discussion and conclude it with the prayer that God, the Almighty, may grant the Khalsa nation more energy and enlightenment so that they may be able to prosecute and conduct their researches in a wiser and more methodical way. Our own conclusion is that, we must hold the *Kartik Puranmashi* as the birthday of Guru Nanak, unless and

31. Bala was a real man as explained in the preceding chapter.

until more clear, definite and unquestionable proof becomes available.

Since writing the above we have ascertained by an enquiry at Dera Baba Nanak in the Batala Tehsil of Gurdaspur District, where the descendants of Guru Nanak live to this time, that they have always observed and are still observing the *Kartik Puranmashi* as the birthday of Guru Nanak, and that this has descended to them from the very beginning. This fact has a considerable force and goes far to support the contention of those who hold that date as the birthday of the Guru.

4. THE CAUSE OF THE MISSION OF GURU NANAK

It is an immutable law of Nature, that light and darkness are ever cycling in succession one after the other. The whole universe is, every moment, undergoing some sort of change, visible or invisible, perceptible or imperceptible. And it is ordained that when anything reaches the climax or the utmost height, the reverse action begins to take place. That action is due to two causes. First, that the thing affected has enjoyed its full pre-ordained life; and second, the elements which through certain inherent qualities of a thing, used to sustain and improve it, begin owing to the deterioration of any or all of them, to work for the reverse. Our premise can be illustrated better by the following examples :

- (a) A man is born. He must live the predestined life, and during that life none can kill him. But when the time of his death arrives, none can save him; those very means, which used to sustain and support him, turning out agencies of, or excuses for, his destruction.
- (b) A holy person has founded a religion on true and solid principles. On account of its purity it grows rapidly and becomes prosperous. His successors, however, become corrupt and selfish committing horrible sins and vices. The followers who supported the religion and formed its nucleus fall away, so that eventually it becomes extinct.
- (c) A person conquers a country and becomes ruler thereof. He appears just and the people put entire faith and confidence in him. He becomes prosperous and

very powerful with the belief that his *Raj* (reign) will last till eternity, there being none to encounter him or to question his power and authority. The conquerors are generally proud and arrogant, and their co-religionists grow intolerant. The innocent people are persecuted with complete impunity. Such power engenders luxurious habits among the rulers. The hardy and stalwart soldiers deteriorate into effeminate and ease-loving dandies, and their nature and character are naturally reflected upon the following generations. The administrative machinery, through the intoxication of authority and luxurious and immoral ways, becomes rusty and loses its vitality. The masses, though tolerant and meek in the beginning become revengeful and vindictive. The very persons who were in the beginning a support for the sovereign directly or indirectly, openly or secretly, desire his downfall.

It is true that a country is subject to its ruler and the people as a whole, *prima facie*, are his servants or children and, as duty bound, they must always be loyal towards him. And if they do not do their duty in this respect, they must be branded with an eternal stigma of disloyalty. At the same time it must be remembered that the functions of a ruler are of the most difficult and intricate nature in the world. It is not that he has merely to get enough to fill up his coffers and then to empty them again by his luxuries and sports; he has a great deal to do. A *faqir* (mendicant) has only to look after his own personal wants, and a house-holder after the requirements of his own family lying within his personal reach, but a monarch has to look after a heterogeneous mass of people lying scattered abroad, far beyond his personal reach and observation. He has no personal acquaintance with each and every individual subject of his kingdom, and the vaster a kingdom is, the greater is the gulf of ignorance between the ruler and the ruled. The ruler has, therefore, to rely upon his representative. If they have no interest in the stability and the prosperity of the kingdom except the filling up of their own pockets and passing the days of their temporary authority in pomp, pleasure, and personal

aggrandizement, his rule suffers. It is not seldom that for the sake of their interest they sacrifice the cause of the State not heeding to the requirements of propriety, fair dealing and justice. Their mind loses equilibrium and becomes unsettled and is ruled by selfish motives producing chaos and anarchy in the affairs of the State. They leave the stage after playing their part, long or short, as the circumstances permit, but the effect of their performance eventually falls on the head of the ruler. Therefore, a ruler has to suffer, not only for his own actions, but for actions of his subordinates and representatives as well. The duties and obligations of a monarch are consequently far more onerous than those attending upon other offices in the world. Further he is a servant or a guardian of the country which remunerates him by various taxes on land or otherwise. Though the power of a king is derived directly or indirectly from the people, as a matter of fact he grows more powerful than the people themselves. The country invests him with that power for its own sake, and it is his duty to manage it well and maintain peace and order. It is an admitted fact that in many cases religion and government go side by side, but generally it is the most unwise act on the part of a ruler to mix Church and State together. When both are mixed and combined, especially when the rulers and their subjects maintain different religions, the fanatical element would creep in and the authorities must in the overzeal step out of their bounds. Forced by circumstances, intentionally or unintentionally, religious bigotry getting the better of them, they commit wrongs resulting in oppression. Such oppression amounts to breach of the sacred trust on the part of the ruling power, which leads to reprisals on the part of the subjects. Tyranny on the part of the rulers and discontent on that of the ruled, invariably lead to the disintegration of the Civil Government of a country. When the die is cast, the oppressor must lose the game. And the Almighty God, Who never tolerates unrighteousness, misrule and oppression, becomes wrath and creates, while we are unaware, an agency for the removal of the wrongdoer. Innumerable instances demonstrating the above hypothesis are to be found in the history of all the countries of the world. The following few may well be quoted for the perusal of our readers :

- (a) In the *Treta*³² Age, when Ravana, the ruler of Ceylon, began to commit excesses, thinking, as the tradition goes, that he had become practically immortal and invincible, there being none in Ceylon or its neighbourhood to contest his authority, Rama's exile became the means of his destruction, nay, of the destruction of his whole family. He was tempted to treacherously abduct Sita, the wife of Rama. Then Rama, who was homeless and troopless and far removed from his native country, was furnished with human and animal troops to bridge over the ocean and destroy the proud, arrogant, and invincible tyrant.
- (b) During the *Dvapara* Age (Silver Age) Ugra Sena was king of Mathura. His wicked son, Kansa, imprisoned him and usurped his throne; as the Emperor Aurangzeb, had done in the case of his father, Shah Jahan. He was, as his actions show, a base and heartless tyrant, a monster of iniquity, and a demon of cruelty. The people groaned under his tyranny and oppression. Although he was hated by all, none could say a word against him. On his own part, as is generally the case with thieves and tyrants, Kansa was always afraid and suspicious of all around him. When enquiring about his future, he was told by astrologers that his sister Devaki's eighth son would kill him. Thereon he at once imprisoned Devaki and Vasudeva, her husband. He was going to kill them, when at their humble supplication, the fates moved him to pity, and he spared their lives on the condition that hey should deliver immediately after birth, all their issue, whether male or female. They were thus kept prisoners in his own royal palace under the charge of a strong and vigilant guard. The first seven children born to Devaki were duly made over to the tyrant, who, in order to secure his safety, killed them all. However a successful attempt was made to save the eighth, Krishna, who,

32. According to the Hindu belief there have been four ages since creation of universe. *Treta* is the second of these four. The present age is *Kalyuga*—the fourth one.
—Editor

soon after delivery, was exchanged with a female infant born the same night to one Nand of Gokal—a village close by. When the fame of Krishna attracted Kansa's attention, many plans were devised to murder him, but during the last attempt, when secret arrangements were made to kill him, the tyrant met his fate by his God-sent destroyer. Then Krishna was invited to the throne, but he refused and enthroned the ex-King, the father of the deceased villain. Thus the Almighty saved the people by enforcing his pre-ordained behest which no human device could avert, although well known beforehand to the interested party who was, to all appearance, quite competent to stop its occurrence.

- (c) When the Children of Israel were persecuted in Egypt, the Egyptian King, Pharaoh, ordered all their new born male children to be cast alive into the river.³³ However, when Moses was born, he was mysteriously saved and was brought up at the instance of the daughter of the tyrant himself.³⁴ This Moses saved the Hebrews from their afflictions and Pharaoh, with his men, was closed in by the sea and destroyed when pursuing to capture them.³⁵
- (d) When Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea, Herod the king of that place, wanted to learn about his birth and existence with a view to kill him. His parents fled and took him to Egypt whence they never returned untill the wicked king was dead.³⁶
- (e) The Quresh of Makka several times attempted to murder the Arabian prophet Muhammad, but failed.³⁷

There are many more examples, but the above-quoted are enough to show that fate cannot be averted. It would also appear that everything in the world can be likened to a building which has a certain lease of life according to the materials used

33. *Exodus* I, 22.

34. *Exodus* II, 6 et seq.

35. *Exodus* XIV, 30.

36. St. Matthew, 2 and 3.

37. Muir's *Life of Muhammad*.

in its construction. The engineer employed in building it, estimating its probable age, arranges beforehand for its repairs and replacements. Similarly, the Celestial Engineer would appear to have arranged for all sorts of constructions, their destruction and replacement. A mysterious and invisible agency is working in the Universe. Some believe therein and others not. When certain things are prophesied and they happen accordingly, we are at a loss to know how the prophecy was possible. Sometimes we attribute it to chance. The truth is, that holy persons, who are holy in the strict sense of the word, can see by means of Divine illumination, the past, the present, and the future as if all were happening just before their eyes. In like manner, a reference to the Puranic³⁸ world shows that centuries before his birth, the predestined advent of Guru Nanak was foretold. The cause of his birth is stated to be that he was pre-ordained to removing ignorance and darkness in the spiritual world and the temporal oppression of the ruling powers.

As regards the oppression practised upon the people of India since the first Arabian invasion of India upto the period when Guru Nanak was born, we give below a brief sketch of what had happened and what was then happening.

- (a) According to the *Chachnama*, an Arabian work, when Muhammad Bin Qasim entered Sindh, he put to the sword the nephew of Dahir. His warriors, principal officers, and other *infidels* were converted to Islam or annihilated. Hindu temples were demolished, and mosques erected in their place.
- (b) At fort Rawar, Muhammad Bin Qasim put six thousand fighting men to the sword and shot some with arrows.³⁹
- (c) In 73 Hijri, Khalifa Walid wrote to Hajjaj, "God says give no quarter to *infidels*, but cut their throats." He also added to that order, "this is the command of the great God. You should not be too ready to grant protection, because it will prolong your work."⁴⁰
- (d) The state of affairs in India can be better judged from the following lines. The energies of the Arabians

38. *Bhavishat Puran*.

39. Elliott's *History of India*, Vol. I, page 172.

40. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pages 173-74.

during the time to which these remarks relate, were "solely concentrated upon executing the injunctions of the king of fierce countenance, understanding dark sentences, that they should force belief at the point of the sword, which was emphatically declared to be the key of heaven and hell. Terror and devastation, murder and rapine, accompanied their progress in fulfilment of the prophetic denunciation of Daniel, that this descendant of Ismail shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper and practice, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people; and through his policy also, he shall cause craft to prosper in his land."⁴¹

These remarks relate to the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century A.D., when the Muhammadan expeditions were confined practically to Sindh. When the Muhammadan supremacy was practically established in India. The following few specimens of cruelty out of many are noteworthy :

- (1) According to Tajul Muasa, Kutab Din Aibak, on his conquest of Meerut, demolished 700 big temples and constructed mosques instead thereof. At the same time he massacred 3,000 persons of the family of Banspal and bathed the idols with their blood.

Again in Koel, he put to the sword all the Hindus who refused to embrace Islam. At Kalanjar, after the usual destruction of Hindu temples, he massacred 1,32,000 Hindus. He also sent 50,000 young Hindus both males and females, to Gazni as captives for slavery.

- (2) *Tawarikh Ilahi* says that Feroz Shah Khilji, entirely devastated Malwa and some other countries and promulgated an order for slaying 1,000 Hindus daily with a view to bathing with their blood certain idols he had collected in the front of his fort. That order was duly carried out!
- (3) What Amir Khusro and Farishta say about the condition of the Hindus during the time of Ala-ud-Din

41. Elliott's *History of India*, Vol. I, pages 31-35.

Khilji, would seem quite incredible. They were subjected to all sorts of excesses and atrocities. No one was allowed to store provisions for a greater period than six months. All luxuries were forbidden to them, and the collection of necessities over and above a certain fixed limit was strictly prohibited. And their handsome children were snatched away from them.

- (4) *Tawarikh-I-Ilahi* shows that Muhammad Tuglak had ever present in front of his door 1,000 corpses which were replaced every 12 hours by a similar number of fresh bodies of slain Hindus. This shows that 2,000 Hindus were daily butchered by him.
- (5) When Ala-ud-Din Sikandar built a fort at Delhi, he severed 14,000 heads of notable Hindus and placing them on the walls of the new fort, placed lighted lamps thereon in joy at the completion of his fort. (*Tawarikh-I-Ilahi*).
- (6) When he conquered Nagarkot Kangra, Firoz Shah massacred 13,000 idol-worshippers and forced 1,000 Brahmins and Kshatryas to eat beef. (*Tawarikh Farishta*).
- (7) Amir Taimur, the Timarlang put to the sword 7,52,000 Hindus, and he burnt 29,000 alive. (*Tawarikh Taimuri*).
- (8) Emperor Taimur massacred 1,00,000 [one lakh] Hindu captives in one day. (*Autobiography of Taimur*).

The above are only a few specimens out of a multitude. The Hindus were subjected to all sorts of indignities and persecutions with the details of which we need not prolong our account here. No device or mode of persecution, threat, or inducement was left unresorted to in order to compel them to embrace Islam. When Tuglaks and Lodies reigned, the Hindus were subjected to still more cruel hardships. The bigoted zeal for Islam forbade any trust in Hindu princes or Hindu officers. High posts were filled up with foreign Muhammadan adventures who had no sympathy with India or Indian interests at heart, and know only how to extort money or propagate Islam by force (Hunter's *Brief History of the Indian People*).

The result of all this oppression and excesses of the Muhammadan rulers was that a country, which was unrivalled in riches and prosperity, was within a few centuries, reduced to beggary and desolate jungles. Millions of innocent Hindus were put to the sword in a most merciless and inhuman manner. Unprecedented manhunts were invented. The slaughter of human beings in enclosed circles of large areas, was carried out like the slaughter of beasts and in sporting humour. Great cities like Kanauj were thoroughly bagged (Hunter). The Muhammadan bigotry did its worst for the Hindus. They were cruelly tortured, their temples destroyed, their females brutally wrested from them and necessities of life savagely wrenched away. All these horrors led to famines, chaos, Hindu revolts, and Muhammadan rebellions, which reduced the country to mere anarchy. All righteousness had vanished. Sin and unrighteousness swayed the country. When speaking of the general state of affairs at the time, Guru Nanak remarked in *Var Majh* as under :

ਕਲਿ ਕਾਤੀ ਰਾਜੇ ਕਾਸਾਈ ਧਰਮੁ ਪੰਖ ਕਰਿ ਉਡਰਿਆ ॥
 ਕੂੜੁ ਅਮਾਵਸ ਸਚੁ ਚੰਦ੍ਰਮਾ ਦੀਸੈ ਨਾਹੀ ਕਹ ਚੜਿਆ ॥
 ਹਉ ਭਾਲਿ ਵਿਕੁੰਨੀ ਹੋਈ ॥
 ਆਧੇਰੈ ਰਾਹੁ ਨ ਕੋਈ ॥
 ਵਿਚਿ ਹਉਮੈ ਕਰਿ ਦੁਖੁ ਹੋਈ ॥
 ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਕਿਨਿ ਬਿਧਿ ਗਤਿ ਹੋਈ ॥

Kal(i) kātī Rāje kāsāī dharm(u) pañkh kar(i) udariā.
Kur(u) amāvas sach(u) chaṇḍramā dīśai nāhī kah chāṛiā.
Hau bhāl(i) vikuññī hoī.
Ādherai rāb(u) na koī.
Vich(i) haumai kar(i) dukh(u) roī.
Kahu Nānak(u) kin(i) bidh(i) gat(i) hoī.

The Iron Age is a knife and the rulers are butchers (who are slaughtering the innocent people) and righteousness is flying away with its wings.

Unrighteousness is like *amavas*⁴² whereas righteousness is the moon, but the latter under the domination of darkness can nowhere be seen.

42. Conjunction day of the sun and moon when darkness prevails over light.

I have tried to find the righteous path, but it cannot be found on account of the prevailing darkness.

The people having fallen into egotism, are crying in pain in consequence.

Nanak says, '(when such is the case) how can salvation be gained?'

Sayad Muhammad Latif when speaking of that period says that "the whole non-Muhammadian population was subjected to persecutions by the Muhammadian rulers." And a comprehensive extract relating to the vices of the ruling powers and their Courts as given by that author as well as that given by Guru Nanak himself, has been reproduced in Chapter XXVI of this book.

The internal state of the Hindus themselves was also, at that time, most deplorable. They had lost most of what was necessary for the healthy existence of a people. Their morals were lowered, nay debased, and their character was gone. The caste system was most rigidly enforced. It was extended in such a selfish, inhuman, and intricate manner as was never known or contemplated before the advent of Mahmud Ghaznavi (about 1000 A.D.). The principle of inequality was most strictly recognized and established. Every occupation, whether temporary or permanent, became a distinct and separate case of class. A member of any one of them was debarred from contracting marriage relations outside his caste. Tools of social dissolution were provided and instruments of internal disunion employed. Moral elevation sank down, the martial spirit decayed and the spiritual standard was lowered. The Buddhistic religion vanished, and the Hindu sovereignty was driven away before the foreign invaders of Islam. The worship of the Most High was neglected and that of Nature, elements, stones and idols substituted. The will of the people was confined, limited and fettered in the most dreadful whims and superstitions, the spirit of union was destroyed, physical strength weakened, moral courage lost, and spiritual might had gone. The Hindus had become worse than slaves and idol-worshippers. Reformers like Ramanand, Kabir, Gorakh, Shankara Acharya and others had failed to carry out the desired reform. The accomplishment of

that object was left to Guru Nanak who was born to remove the oppression, raise the morals of the people, and direct them to the righteous path.

5. THE SUCCESS OF GURU NANAK'S MISSION

It has always been the case that when oppression, mismanagement and chaos take place, or the faith of the people in the Almighty is weakened or shaken, some holy person appears in the shape of a reformer, redeemer, or deliverer from that oppression. Such a person finds his duty entrusted upon him by the Almighty. The charge entrusted to Guru Nanak appears to have been the most onerous, difficult, intricate, and complex, which yet he discharged so admirably and wonderfully.

Rama's chief action was the destruction of the wicked Ravana while engaged in the rescue of his own wife, Sita. After that he succeeded his father and discharged his functions as a ruler admirably, in an age when the morals of the people were high and the internal state of the country was peaceful.

The life of the next great reformer, Krishna presents us with a chequered career. He became ruler and was respected, nay worshipped, throughout India. Nevertheless, his life was a great mystery, and to a superficial observer it would appear as if it were a contradiction of all moral principles. Through his advice the Pandvas trampled upon every sort of moral virtue. They were advised to kill parents, preceptors, Brahmins, brothers, cousins, males, females and children. In order to carry this out, they were induced to resort to falsehood and subterfuges which any true reformer would have shunned altogether. It was through his instrumentality that Arjun was forced to fight the famous battle of Kurukshetra in which the two great families—Kurus and Pandvas, with millions of warriors were annihilated. It was at this juncture that he explained himself to Arjuna in a series of highly metaphysical discourses known as the *Gita*. Thus he accomplished his great work, exterminating the vicious and the wicked. And after all, before he died in obscurity, he joined in a family feud in which all his near and dear relations, including his own sons and grandsons, perished. But for his great sermon *Gita*, Krishna

would have long been ignored and forgotten as an obscure man. (*Krishna's Life* by Dutt).

There have been many more reformers in India, but all of less note and importance except Budha who will be mentioned later on. It seems unnecessary to refer to them here and we proceed to describe the most prominent reformers of the West.

The first great reformer was Abraham, to whom the Lord appeared in a vision or otherwise. He preached the unity of God, His worship and certain procedure of sacrifice. His teachings and travels were confined to a comparatively small area, namely, Ur of the Chaldees, Canaan and Egypt.⁴³

The mission of Moses was limited to guiding the children of Israel and helping them out of Egypt.⁴⁴

Jesus Christ was a descended from Abraham in the 42nd generation.⁴⁵ The life of Jesus Christ between the 12th and the 30th years of his age is involved in a mystery. At the age of 12 he accompanied his parents to Jerusalem, where he tarried behind when his parents were gone. But, however, he was sought again, and taken to Nazareth.⁴⁶ The gospel is silent as to his whereabouts after that until he appears again on the stage at the River Jordan where he was baptized by John, the Baptist. Jesus was then about thirty years of age 'being (as was supposed) the son of Joseph.'⁴⁷ The various Gospels are practically silent in regard to this gap of about 18 years. However, an attempt has been made to explain this point by Nicolas Notovitch, in his *Unknown Life of Christ*. According to him he secretly came to Sindh with certain merchants. Thence he travelled through the Punjab and Rajputana to Jagan Nath. He passed about six years in studying the Vedas at Jagan Nath, Benaras and other places. After he had gained a good deal of knowledge, he began to preach in India and thence went to Nepal and the Himalayan Mountains where he spent about six years. He returned to his country when he had become well versed in and a perfect exponent of the sacred writings. This

43. Genesis XI, XII, et. seq.

44. *Exodus*.

45. St. Matthew, 1, 17.

46. St. Luke II, 42, 51.

47. St. Luke III, 23.

may or may not be true, but in any case as the Gospel shows, he was in Palestine at the age of thirty. His life was obscure and unpretending. He employed himself in healing the sick and preaching the unity and omnipotence of God, as he had learnt it in India. His discourses were spoken in parables to fishermen who scarcely understood his words.⁴⁸ He lived only a few years to preach and was crucified by the cruel, wicked and merciless Jews. His preachings were delivered to fishermen and then in the course of time, his creed was followed and accepted practically by the whole of Europe. Now that religion forms one of the greatest, largest and most powerful creeds of the world. And the ruling races mostly belong to that religion.

The spread of that religion was beset with many difficulties and it was after the lapse of several centuries that the struggle, which was continued with great vigour and sacrifice, succeeded in establishing the creed of Jesus Christ. However, the time and the people were not so antagonistic to the spread of that religion as they were to the spread of the Sikh faith. The people among whom, Jesus was born, were broadly separated and distinguished by ritual laws of rigid and exclusive severity. But they had clung steadfastly to the worship of the one true God since their earliest existence. Monotheism was their natural worship and Jesus Christ gave to it a much wider significance which, under the circumstances, required comparatively little effort to secure its acceptance.

The political atmosphere was also much softer than that which marked the period of Guru Nanak. When the supremacy of Rome was established, all the self-governing powers which existed in Europe and its neighbourhood fell in and finally disappeared. The subjugation of the State involved the downfall of the national religion too. Different nations were impelled by political power, and not by true spiritual attraction, to believe in the Roman creed. When that political ascendancy was shaken and shattered, the various mythologies, which were blended together, collided with each other and began their work of destruction. Then it was a very opportune time for the doctrine of Jesus Christ, which was received with open arms.

48. Leopold Ronks.

When the Arabian Prophet appeared on the stage, the religion of the great and primeval Moslem Prophet, Abraham, was professed practically by the whole of Arabia. Muhammad declared himself a follower in the footsteps of Abraham whose religion he was destined to maintain, and he really did maintain it with certain modifications. The Arabs acknowledged one Supreme God and they addressed Him in prayer like this : "I dedicate myself to Thy service O God! Thou hast no companion, except Thy companion on whom Thou art absolute master, and to whatever is his." They also worshipped idols and images as well as stars and planets and honoured them as inferior deities as if they were mediators with God and not *sui juris* (sovereign). There were really three great idols, *Lat*, *Ozza* and *Mannat*, being considered as mediator goddesses. Besides this adoration was paid to unshaped stones. It is held that the Ka'ba rites gave rise to the latter practice. There is in the temple at Makka a highly venerated stone which has been held in great esteem since time immemorial. All the pilgrims must kiss the black stone which is imbedded in the eastern corner, and then make seven circuits round the sacred edifice. According to Ibn Ishac the practice of adoring the stones sprang up among the Ishmaelites in their carrying out of reverence for the Ka'ba, a stone from the Ka'ba enclosure, and later on these and similar other stones were deified and worshipped. Muhammad had ample materials for the great change, and worked them with excellent skill. He devised a machinery with an adaptive energy and became a reformed worshipper of the Ka'ba instead of an idolater of Makka. Idolatry was abolished, the idols were shattered, but the rites of Ka'ba retained being stripped of all idolatrous tendency. However, there still hangs a mysterious and unmeaning shroud around the monotheism of Islam.

The political problem at the time was not such as the Sikh Gurus had to steer through. There was no organized kingdom or empire in Arabia. Each tribe had a Sheikh, or its popular representative, as its head. The Arabs were sub-divided into innumerable bodies governed by a code of honour and morals of their own. They mostly spoke the same language, but each was independent of the other. They were notorious for restlessness and internecine wars, being ever, on trivial causes,

ready to separate and assume an attitude of implacable hostility. However, their word of honour, when they had once given it for the protection of anyone, was such that they would try to keep and maintain it at any cost. During such a period, Muhammad was born in a Quresh family having a considerable share in the management of the Ka'ba. When Muhammad began to evolve his prophetic designs and signs, the people grew hostile towards him, but the members of his own family having comparatively great power solemnly gave him their protection. Although they did not embrace his creed, they pledged themselves to guard and protect him against any danger. Thus his life was ever safe whatever the feelings of his enemies may have been. So much is enough for our present purposes, and it seems unnecessary to take into account his flight to Madina. Under the circumstances it was quite easy for a religious reformer endowed with the capacity like that of Muhammad to subdue these scattered, isolated and inter-quarrelling tribes, by drawing them to one and the same centre, and giving them the energy of a new religious life. The extension and propagation of Islam was divined to lie in the point of the sword. Muhammadanism had a wonderful effect and mysterious progress. Within one hundred years after the death of Muhammad the Arabian flag was hoisted in the plains of Sindh.

Now, the age during which Guru Nanak and his successors were born, was different from those of the religious founders referred to above. The Guru found a vast and powerful empire to combat. The rulers were the most fanatical zealots that the surface of the earth had ever seen. Massacres of thousands of innocent Hindus were committed in mockery or sport. Hindu *faqirs* were allotted death or dungeon to harangue their sermons in. To shed Hindu blood was considered one of the most meritorious ways of gaining heaven. Persecution against the Hindus was very hot, and the law of the tyrant of the Tasur tribe in Arabia was to some extent being enforced in parts of India when the chastity of a Hindu bride was forcibly violated by Muhammadan leaders before she started living with her husband.

The Arabs were warlike and their martial spirit was great. They were capable of coping with their antagonists. They were

often at war amongst themselves with unvaried and unabated vigour and persistence. But the Hindus had utterly lost their martial inheritance and considered themselves mere innocent sparrows as compared to the hawk-like Muhammadans. They had, through continuous practice of oppression, become accustomed to ill-treatment and harshness.

Moreover, at the time of Muhammad the Arabs were ruled by one code of honour and morals, exhibited the same manner, and practically spoke the same language. Their religion was Abrahamic with certain modifications or corruptions which affected nearly the whole peninsula alike. But India was at the time we speak of, a heterogeneous mass of people different in language, debased in morals, ruled by separate and broadly distinguished customs, antagonistic creeds, adverse mythologies, and diverse rituals. Above all, the caste bondage, unknown in other countries and which had been observed for ages, presented altogether opposed, wrangling and irreconcilable elements, too strong and indissoluble to be blended together.

Such was the cruel and dark age during which the Sikh Gurus had to work with such rough, corrupt, conflicting and antagonistic materials, the greatest reform ever known in the world. Guru Nanak extended his mission of preaching his gospel, not in India alone, but to regions foreign and distant. Through the force of his arguments and will-power, the stony-hearted tyrants were made malleable and softened. The Divine course was never resorted to. Guru Nanak never fell back to have recourse to a Divine vision in order to convince the non-believer. Unlike certain prophets he never employed the sword, nor were secret or treacherous murders committed in order to win the faith of the people or to gain a triumph over an enemy. Everything was left to the Divine will with the preaching and teaching of good actions. His successors also practically confined their mission to the word of the mouth, except the tenth and the last Guru who taught self-defence and resistance and the removal of oppression with the use of arms. It was through the teachings of Guru Nanak and his successors that no worship was recognized except that of One God, mythology was uprooted, idolatry exterminated, morals uplifted, customs and rituals blended together and simplified, and caste bondage

broken. Then, finally, martial spirit having been infused into a fallen, degraded, and down-trodden race, and their dormant, nay dead energies having been aroused, they reversed the prevalent state of affairs, sparrows fighting the eagles and lambs swallowing up the lions. They were all drawn, with a general union, to the one common centre with inward communion of thought by the magnetic force of simple and irresistible truth. The doctrine was not based on hypothesis and speculation, but on facts which exist in truth and to which they were eye-witnesses. They enlighten us not as to the earth alone, but also as to the whole universe and the Divine abode too. The soundness of the doctrine was so acceptable, bestowing peace of mind and celestial bliss even in this mortal life, that its attraction was too strong to be resisted and notwithstanding all the adverse and contending elements, both foreign and indigenous, the faith developed in a marvellous and admirable manner unprecedented and unknown elsewhere. Wonderful to say, a penniless and armyless *faqir* succeeded, through all adverse circumstances and unparalleled and incredible persecutions, in overthrowing a vast, mighty, and first-rate power upon the earth, building upon its ruins—ruins effected by his own followers—a powerful Khalsa ascendancy. And all that for no selfish ends but for the good of the people—*Pro Bono Publico*. Such are the Gurus of the Khalsa whose life, mission, and doctrine we are going to detail in the following pages.

APPENDIX A

ਧਰੂਹ ਬਾਚਿ—

ਕੋ ਸਿੰਘ ਬਨਚਰ ਆਇਆ। ਖੇਚਰ ਭੂਚਰ ਕਉਨ ਸਹਾਇਆ॥
ਰਾਕਸ ਦਾਨੋ ਭੂਤੁ ਪਰੇਤੁ। ਕਿਨੈ ਤੁਮੈ ਲੰਘਾਇਆ ਸੇਤੁ॥
ਬਿਖਮੁ ਬਾਨੁ ਦੂਰਿ ਅਸਥਾਨ। ਕਿਉਂ ਕਰਿ ਮਾਰਗੁ ਲੀਆ ਪਛਾਨੁ॥
ਐਸੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਹੋਈ ਕਬੀਰੁ। ਰਾਮੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਸਿਉ ਮਿਲੇ ਸਰੀਰੁ॥1॥

ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਜੀ ਬਾਚ—

ਏਕ ਟੇਕ ਬਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਚਰੈ। ਖੇਚਰ ਭੂਚਰ ਆਵੈ ਨ ਨੇੜੈ॥
ਦਾਨਵਦੇਉ ਸੇਵਕੁ ਭੂਤੁ ਪ੍ਰੇਤੁ। ਪਵਨ ਅਸਵਾਰ ਹੋਏ ਲੰਘੇ ਸੇਤੁ॥
ਵਾਟ ਸਹੇਲੀ ਪਹੁਚੇ ਬਾਨੁ। ਨਿਰੰਜਨ ਲਿਲਾਟ ਲਿਖਯਾ ਨਿਰਬਾਨੁ॥
ਆਗੈ ਹੂਈ ਅਬ ਭੀ ਹੋਇ। ਏਕ ਕਬੀਰਾ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੋਇ॥
ਤੀਜੈ ਹੋਰ ਹਿੰਡਾਲ ਜਟੈਟਾ। ਜਾ ਕੋ ਆਪ ਨਿਰੰਜਨ ਭੋਟਾ॥
ਐਸੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕਰੀ ਕਬੀਰੁ। ਤੋਂ ਦੂਜੇ ਨਾਨਕ ਬਾਂਧੀ ਧੀਰੁ॥2॥

ਧਰੂਹ ਬਾਚਿ—

ਸੁਣ ਨਾਨਕ ਝੂਠ ਕਿਉਂ ਬੋਲਤਾ। ਕੋਈ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਕਬੀਰੁ ਨ ਜਾਤਾ॥
ਨਾ ਉਸ ਸੂਰਤਿ ਨਾਉ ਨੀਸਾਣੁ। ਕਿਉਂ ਝੂਠੀ ਸਾਖ ਭਰੋ ਨਿਦਾਨ॥3॥

ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਜੀ ਬਾਚ—

ਦੇਖੋਗੇ ਜਦ ਪੈਦੇ ਹੋਇ। ਏਕੁ ਪਲਕ ਮੈਂ ਪਹੁਚੈ ਸੋਇ॥
ਬੇਦ ਕਤੇਬ ਕੀ ਕਰੈ ਨਾ ਕਾਣਿ। ਸਚੁ ਨਾਮ ਤਾ ਕੋ ਨੀਸਾਣੁ॥
ਸੁਣੋ ਧੂਹ ਰਖੀਸ਼ਰ ਭਾਈ। ਨਾਨਕ ਸਾਚੀ ਸਾਖ ਸੁਣਾਈ॥4॥

ਧਰੂਹ ਭਗਤਿ ਬਾਚ—

ਜਾਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਜਾਹੁਗੇ ਕਿਧਰੁ। ਆਗੈ ਪਿਕਟ ਪ੍ਰਬਤ ਹੈ ਨਿਧਰੁ॥
ਦੇਖੋਂ ਅਬ ਤੁਮਰੀ ਸਕਤਿ। ਕੈਸੀ ਤੋਂ ਕੀਨੀ ਹੈ ਭਗਤਿ॥
ਤਬ ਨਾਨਕ ਪਹੁਚੇ ਦਰਬਾਰ। ਜਹਾਂ ਬੈਠਾ ਤਖਤੁ ਸਚਾ ਕਰਤਾਰ॥
ਪਾਸ ਖਵਾਸੀ ਕਰੇ ਕਬੀਰੁ। ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰ ਕੇ ਪਾਸੁ ਵਜੀਰੁ॥

The above extract shows that the whole fiction was made to prove that when Guru Nanak was on his way to the celestial abode of the Almighty, he predicted the advent of Hindal and that he found Kabir waiting upon the Lord as his *Wazir*.

CHAPTER I

GURU NANAK

Sewa Ram, a Bedi Khatri of Talwandi¹ a village on the river Ravi, in the Sharkpur² Tehsil of the Gujranwala District had two sons, Mehta Kalu Chand and Lalu.³ The former became weighman or *dharvai* and also acted as accountant of the village, which was at the time held by one Rai Bular, a Bhatti Rajput. Kalu Chand was much respected by the villagers who considered him as their head and the Rai also had a great regard for him. The Emperor who ruled India then, was Bahlol Lodhi. The Hindus, nay the whole non-Mussalman population, were subjected to the most cruel and merciless persecutions. It was at such a time that Mehta Kalu was blessed with a son on the night of *Puranmashi* (full-moon night) of *Kartik* V.S. 1526 (about November 1469 A.D.).⁴ Early on the following morning, Hardial, the family priest, was sent for and was requested to draw his horoscope (*Janampatri*) and suggest for him some auspicious name. The priest took some time in preparing the horoscope, and then named the newly born as Nanak. Kalu objected to this name as being common to both Hindus and Muhammadans. The priest rejoined that it was the only name consonant with its astronomical calculations, as Nanak was destined to be respected and worshipped both by the Hindus and Muhammadans as their spiritual leader. On the site of the house in which Guru Nanak was born, now stands the world-famous shrine called Nankana Sahib.

1. Also called the Talwandi of Rai Bular. (Also mentioned as Rai Bhoe—Ed.)

2. Sharkpur Tehsil was formerly in the Lahore District, but has recently been transferred to the Gujranwala District. (Now Talwandi is Nankana Sahib—Tehsil headquarter of Sheikhpura district of Pakistani Punjab—Ed.)

3. More authentic names are Mehta Kalyan Chand and Lal Chand—Ed.)

4. See also subheading '3' of the Introduction.

In his childhood Guru Nanak was of reserved disposition and would eat but little. He always seemed pensive and thoughtful and would speak of the Lord. Nature had endowed him with a contemplative mind and pious nature. He would give away in charity whatever he could lay hands on in his father's house. He began to show signs of a religious inclinations and a sublime soul, and used to discuss Divine knowledge with his playmates.

When he was five years old, Nanak's maternal aunt, Bibi Lakho, came to see her sister, Bibi Tripta, and observing Nanak's indifferent ways, said to her sister, "Thy son is soft-headed." On hearing this, Nanak replied, "Thine will be much more (four times more) soft-headed than myself." Thus he predicted the birth of the well known holy person, Baba Ram Thaman [in whose memory an annual fair is held in the vicinity of Kasur (now in Pakistan) upto this time].

When yet a boy of seven, the Guru was taken to Gopal *Pandha* (village Hindu priest) to be taught Hindi.⁵ The *Pandha* wrote the Hindi alphabet for him on a wooden tablet. The Guru politely asked him how far his own knowledge extended in what he was proceeding to teach him. The reply was that he knew mathematics including land survey. The Guru said that such knowledge could not help him obtain freedom and salvation. The schoolmaster was astounded at his pupil's words and said that he knew all the accounts necessary for shop-keeping and thinking that Nanak was merely repeating the non-sensical talk of some *faqir*, angrily asked Nanak if he knew anything which would be helpful to obtain salvation. Then Nanak gently said that he could tell him something of that sort, and uttered the following hymn in *Siri Rag* :

“ਜਾਲਿ ਮੋਹੁ ਘਸਿ ਮਸੁ ਕਰਿ ਮਤਿ ਕਾਗਦੁ ਕਰਿ ਸਾਰੁ ॥
 ਭਾਉ ਕਲਮ ਕਰਿ ਚਿਤੁ ਲੇਖਾਰੀ ਗੁਰ ਪੁਛਿ ਲਿਖੁ ਬੀਚਾਰੁ ॥
 ਲਿਖੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਸਾਲਾਹ ਲਿਖੁ ਲਿਖੁ ਅੰਤੁ ਨ ਪਾਰਾਵਾਰੁ ॥
 ਬਾਬਾ ਏਹੁ ਲੇਖਾ ਲਿਖਿ ਜਾਣੁ ॥
 ਜਿਥੈ ਲੇਖਾ ਮੰਗੀਐ ਤਿਥੈ ਹੋਇ ਸਚਾ ਨੀਸਾਣੁ ॥”

Jāl(i) mob(u) ghas(i) mas(u) kar(i) mat(i) kāgad(u) kar(i)
sār(u).

5. Hindi developed much later in the 16th & 18th centuries—Ed.

*Bhāu kalam kar(i) chit(u) lekhāri gur puchh(i) likh(u)
bīchār(u).*

*Likh(u) nām(u) sālāb likh(u) likh(u) ant(u) na pārāvār(u).
Bābā eh(u) lekhā likh(i) jān(u),*

Jithai lekhā māngīai tithai hoe sachā nīsān(u).

Burn worldly love, grind its ashes into ink⁶ and turn
the intellect into an excellent paper.

Make the love of God thy pen and thy heart the writer
(then) under the instruction of the Guru write and
meditate.

Write the Lord's name, pen his praises and write that
He has no limit this side or the other.

O Sir ! Learn to write this account (and) where accounts
are to be rendered this shall serve thee as a true
mark.

This is given as a specimen of what the Guru used to utter
in his childhood when he was altogether illiterate and of tender
age. As to such saying we will quote only a few verses now
and then when necessary. In the second part of the book
copious hymns shall be given with explanations.

On hearing the hymn (a portion of which has been cited
above) the *Pandha* was struck with wonder and paying homage
to the Guru acknowledged his own inferiority and inability to
teach him anything at all. He, nevertheless, remonstrated with
the young spiritualist saying that he was yet too young to absorb
himself in such subjects. To which the Guru politely replied
in a triplet "that he was very much afraid of the Lord, that all
relations in the world were unreal, the most powerful of
mankind being destined to mix with dust." The *Pandha* was
filled with admiration and the Guru was allowed to return
home.

Next day, the Guru did not go to the *Pandha* but began
to play with fragments of paper as little children generally do.
He collected some papers, covered them with cloth in imitation
of a scripture covered with kerchiefs and then began to read
like a Pandit (learned man). His mother, out of love, asked him
what he was reading. The reply was that he was reading the

6. Country ink which is made of lamp-black or certain ashes rubbed well in oil.

Sapt Saloki Gita or seven verses of the laudation of the Lord. It is a beautiful and sublime hymn in Sanskrit—a language which then had become dead in the country. His parents sat round him and at their request, the meanings of the hymns were explained to them. It means that God is one. He is ever in existence and more subtle than the subtlest. He is Lord of all and is ever radiant. His light exceeding that of millions of suns and moons taken together. The light of the sun fluctuates, whereas His is ever refulgent and unabating.

However, in spite of all this the parents remained under an illusion with regard to the true nature and extent of their son's spiritual power and knowledge. Therefore, the father, next day again took him to the Hindi teacher, *Pandha*, who wrote for him alphabets on a *Patti* (a flat wooden board used for beginners to write on). The Guru said that these alphabets praised the Lord and therefore the extemporised hymns in an alphabetical form in *Rag Asa*. This composition in praise of the Lord is called *Patti*.⁷ The *Pandha* then informed Mehta Kalu, that the Guru was above such secular education and he was destined to be a great philosopher and to preach the Divine knowledge.

When about 9 years old, his father took the Guru to Pandit Brij Nath to be taught *Sanskrit*. The Pandit wrote for him 'OM'—(The whole, Omnis). As a rule it is written at the beginning of every writing. The Guru asked him the meaning of 'OM' but the Pandit declined to answer, adding that Nanak, at that stage, had no business to know the meaning. However, the Guru replied that reading without knowing and understanding was merely groping in the dark. A discussion ensued and at the request of the Pandit the Guru recited an explanation of 'OM' called 'ONKAR'⁸ in an alphabetical form. He indicated what the Creator and his manifestations were. We omit the original hymn although it indicates what a masterly and extensive knowledge the Guru possessed at that age. For want of space we are compelled to refer our readers to the Holy Granth.

7. A few verses of it relating to the Karma principle and the principle on which the universe is maintained will be found in Chapter XIX of Part II of the book.

8. This composition is recorded in *Sri Guru Granth Sahib* under the heading 'Dakhni Onkar' on page 929—Ed.

After that for about a month the Guru would seldom stir out of his home, being absorbed in divine contemplation. However he showed great interest and alacrity whenever he heard anyone talking of matters divine, but this demeanour on his only son's part made Kalu rather uneasy as he wished him to be well up in secular knowledge. He, therefore, began to look gloomy and Rai Bular, the village head, sympathised with him, and after some consideration, advised him to send the boy to *Mullah* Qutab Din to learn Persian. The Guru attended his school for a few days when a religious disputation arose, and the pupil recited a hymn in the Persian Alphabet praising the Lord and advising the people to remember and adore Him and to practise righteousness. Thereupon the *Mullah* humbly paid obeisance to his pupil and told his father that he was already well up in every essential knowledge and was destined to lead both Hindus and Muhammadans on the right path.

After that, for some time the Guru became wholly absorbed in divine contemplation and would not converse with anybody. Kalu, therefore, became much dejected and sent for the *Mullah* to try and make the boy speak. The *Mullah* tried various means to make him speak but to no purpose. Eventually he entreated him in the name of God, whereupon the Guru uttered a hymn in Persian in *Rag Tilang* saying that the world was perishable and man, for his evil deeds, was sure to be severely punished in the world to come.⁹

When the Guru was about 9 years of age, the father, according to the prevailing customs, invited Pandits, realations and friends to initiate and invest him with the *Brahminical* thread. When all the preliminaries had been gone through, he was asked to wear the thread as every orthodox Hindu should do, but he declined to do so contending that it would effect no change in him, because it was of cotton and subject to change, pollution and destruction. At the same time he added that man should wear a sacred thread formed of moral and spiritual epithets so that it should ever prove holy, unchangeable and eternal. For hymns on the subject, see Chapter XXV (Book II). The Brahmans could not gainsay the philosophical treatment

9. Vide the hymn commencing with "*Yak arj guftam pes(i) to...*"—A.G.G.S., p. 721—Ed.

of the matter, and Hardial, the family priest, was so influenced that he passed the remainder of his life in adoring the Almighty.

When Mehta Kalu saw that Nanak would not learn in school, he asked him to tend his grazing cattle. When the cattle were grazing, Nanak, the herdsman became absorbed in contemplation and the cattle damaged crops standing in fields close by. Complaint was lodged with Rai Bular for the recovery of compensation, but on inspection no clue or mark could be found of the cattle having damaged the field, which was intact and as flourishing as ever. In memory of the event there stands a shrine called Kiara Sahib (the sacred field).

Sometime after that during the month of *Baisakh* (April-May) when he went to tend the cattle, the Guru lay down under a tree deeply immersed in contemplation. The hot rays of the sun in its course began to fall on his face through a gap in the branches of the tree. Then a large snake shaded his face with its hood. At that time Rai Bular happened to pass that way and was terrified at the sight. He deputed one of his men to drive away the snake. On being disturbed, the Guru, contrary to Rai's expectations and very much to his wonder and admiration, woke up as hale and hearty as ever. A shrine stands at the place of the incident.

Later on when the Guru again went out to tend the cattle, he centered his mind upon the adoration of the Almighty. As he was long indifferent to what was passing around, the shadows of all the trees changed except of that one under which he was sitting. Rai Bular witnessed this also when he happened to pass by. (Here also now exists a shrine).

On many an occasion Rai Bular informed Mehta Kalu, that his son was not an ordinary mortal, and ever commended his glory to his notice, but the latter was ever seeking to settle his son as a successful householder. The Guru practically took no interest at all in such affairs but was waiting for the time when he was to start on his glorious, unprecedented world-wide journey. On the other hand the Rai respected, loved and revered the Guru from his very childhood and his belief in him got fresh strength from every new sign or manifestation and ultimately it became so rooted in his mind that he was prepared to help or serve him in any way he could. The Guru too in return had a great regard for him.

When the parents found that Nanak would not concern himself with worldly affairs, they became concerned and rebuked him for his idleness. His father asked him to look after his crops in the fields. Nanak replied that he was not idle but busy in guarding his own fields. When asked where his fields were, the reply was an allegorical hymn in *Rag Sorath* :

ਮਨੁ ਹਾਲੀ ਕਿਰਸਾਣੀ ਕਰਣੀ ਸਰਮੁ ਪਾਣੀ ਤਨੁ ਖੇਤੁ ॥

ਨਾਮੁ ਬੀਜੁ ਸੰਤੋਖੁ ਸਹਾਗਾ ਰਖੁ ਗਰੀਬੀ ਵੇਸੁ ॥

ਭਾਉ ਕਰਮ ਕਰਿ ਜੰਮਸੀ ਸੇ ਘਰ ਭਾਗਠ ਦੇਖੁ ॥

ਬਾਬਾ ਮਾਇਆ ਸਾਥਿ ਨਾ ਹੋਇ ॥

ਇਨਿ ਮਾਇਆ ਜਗੁ ਮੋਹਿਆ ਵਿਰਲਾ ਬੁਝੈ ਕੋਇ ॥

Man(u) bālī kirsāṇī karṇī sarm(u) pāṇī tan(u) khet(u).

Nām(u) bīj(u) santokh(u) subāgā rakh(u) garībī ves(u).

Bhāo karm kar(i) janmasī se ghar bhāgaṭh dekh(u).

Bābā māiā sāth(i) nā hoe.

In(i) māiā jag(u) mohiā virlā būjbai koe.

(AGGS, p. 515)

My body is a field of which the ploughman is the mind, whose cultivation is righteousness, and modesty is water for its irrigation.

I have sown it with the seed of the sacred word (the name of the Lord), contentment is its harrow, and the garb of humility is its hedge.

The seed will germinate into a good crop with love and righteousness, and fortunate is the house into which such a crop is brought.

O Sir, Mammon will not accompany us to the next world. It has infatuated the whole world, but there are few who understand its delusiveness.

At this his father now thought that Nanak did not like agriculture, and proposed shopkeeping. The response was again in an allegorical hymn in which the Guru said, "my shop is made of time and space; its store consists of the commodities of truth and self-control; and I am always dealing with my customers, whose dealings with me are very profitable indeed." The father considered that Nanak did not like sitting all day long in the shop and wanted to travel. Therefore he asked him to trade in horses as a suitable business for him, but again the

reply was that his trade was of divine knowledge, the profits of which would be a purseful of good deeds with which he was sure to reach the land of the Lord.

Then Kalu told Guru Nanak that if he disliked all other jobs, he might take some service which would divert his attention from melancholy thoughts. The Guru in a hymn, replied to the following effect : "I am already a servant and am trying to do my duty in the service of my Lord. I carry out His wishes with self-control and the pleasing of Him is the only reward I covet." On hearing this the father kept quite and retired.

At the stage of which we are making a mention, the Guru became indifferent alike to the wants of his person and to the cares of the world outside. For days together, he would abstain from eating and drinking and remain absorbed in divine contemplation. For days he would conceal himself in the wilderness, studiously avoiding contact with his fellow beings. On several occasions his parents believed him to have been lost in the jungle or devoured by ferocious beasts, but on search he was found deep in contemplation and careless of all that happened around him. The whole family became very uneasy. Some said he had lost his senses and had gone mad. Others began to think that he was possessed of some evil spirit. His father now found himself in a dilemma and told Nanak that he had become the laughing stock of all the people, but nothing could restrain Nanak from following the dictates of his own mind. Presently, Kalu was persuaded by his relatives to send for an exorcist to whom Guru Nanak uttered the following hymn in *Rag Maru* :

ਕੋਈ ਆਖੈ ਭੂਤਨਾ ਕੋ ਕਹੈ ਬੇਤਾਲਾ ॥
 ਕੋਈ ਆਖੈ ਆਦਮੀ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਵੇਚਾਰਾ ॥
 ਭਇਆ ਦਿਵਾਨਾ ਸਾਹ ਕਾ ਨਾਨਕੁ ਬਉਰਾਨਾ ॥
 ਹਉ ਹਰਿ ਬਿਨੁ ਅਵਰੁ ਨ ਜਾਨਾ ॥

Koī ākbhai bhūtnā ko kahai betālā.
Koī ākbhai ādmī Nānak(u) vechārā.
Bhaiā diwānā sāh kā Nānak(u) baurānā.
Hau har(i) bin(u) avar(u) na jānā.

Some say I am possessed of a demon, others say of sprite.

Some say I am affected with a malady and others say
I am under intoxication.

Whatever the people think of me they say according
to their own respective understanding.

Whereas poor Nanak has gone mad for His Lord.

Upon this the exorcist retired declaring that Nanak was
not suffering from any evil influence.

Guru Nanak continued in his former condition with little
food and drink, little sleep or rest. His father was obliged to
send for a physician. When the physician began to feel his
pulse, Guru Nanak withdrew his arm and recited the following
hymn in *Vār Malār* :

ਵੈਦੁ ਬੁਲਾਇਆ ਵੈਦਗੀ ਪਕੜਿ ਢੰਢੋਲੇ ਬਾਂਹੁ ॥
ਭੋਲਾ ਵੈਦੁ ਨ ਜਾਣਈ ਕਰਕ ਕਲੇਜੇ ਮਾਹਿ ॥
ਵੈਦਾ ਵੈਦੁ ਸੁਵੈਦੁ ਤੂ ਪਹਿਲਾ ਰੋਗੁ ਪਛਾਣੁ ॥
ਐਸਾ ਦਾਰੂ ਲੋੜਿ ਲਹੁ ਜਿਤੁ ਵੰਞੈ ਰੋਗਾ ਘਾਣਿ ॥

Vaid(u) bulāiā vaidgī pakar(i) ḍhaṇḍhole bānh.

Bholā vaid(u) na jāṇai kark kaleje māh(i).

Vaidā vaid(u) suvaid(u) tū pabilān rog(u) pachhān(u).

Aisā dārū lor(i) labu jit(u) vanjhai rogā ghān(i).

(p. 1279)

A Physician is sent for to prescribe medicine, he taketh
my hand and feels the pulse.

The ignorant physician knoweth not that the pain lieth
in my mind.

O Physician go home, thou canst not diagnose my
disease.

I am imbued with the love of my own Lord; to whom
dost thou administer medicine ?

The Physician then got blessings of Guru Nanak and
retired, telling his parents that he was suffering from no bodily
ailment. Nanak continued in that indifferent and apparently idle
and gloomy frame of mind. He felt pleased and refreshed in
conversation with *Faqirs* on divine matters. Rai Bular's belief in
him became more firm and the poor and sick came to him for
help. The Guru helped the poor with money and cured the sick
of their diseases. All these things greatly troubled his parents
and his father devised a plan to divert his attention by giving

him a training in trade and shop-keeping. When he was 15 years of age, his father gave him Rs. 20 and directed him to purchase some profitable commodity from a neighbouring market town. Bala, a servant of the family, was asked to accompany him. When they reached Chuhar Kana, a village about 20 miles (32 kms.) from Talwandi, the Guru met a party of destitute *faqirs* who were engaged in religious devotion. Nanak thought, to feed them was the most profitable bargain he could make. On inquiry he found that they were starving and after consulting Bala he purchased provisions worth all he had. He then fed them and derived a great pleasure from the long divine discourses he held with them. After that he returned homeward. When Bala reminded him of the money, Guru Nanak replied that his father had directed him to make the most profitable bargain which he had done; because there was no bargain better than to give in the name of God. It is much more profitable than any transaction for worldly profits as its profit will accrue ten fold in this and seventy fold in the world to come.

When Guru Nanak returned home, he thought of his father's temper and consequent treatment. Therefore he sat in the branches of a big *pilun* tree close to his house. Bala informed his father of his son's bargain. The worldly father was infuriated and discovering Nanak, slapped him on the face. However, Rai Bular reproached him for his action and appeased his anger by payment to him of his money. Later on, the people laughed and joked at Kalu's behaviour and public opinion compelled him to refund the money to the Rai.

The place where Guru Nanak fed the hungry *faqirs* is called *Sacha Sauda* (true bargain) and the tree under which he concealed himself is called 'Malji Sahib' and it stands upto this day with its branches bowing down to the ground all round.

Guru Nanak had an only sister, named Nanaki. She was born in V.S. 1521 (1464 A.D.) and was married in V.S. 1532 (1475 A.D.) to Jai Ram, a Diwan in the service of Nawab Daulat Khan Lodhi who was a grandee and relation of Sultan Bahlol, the then Emperor of Delhi. The Nawab held an extensive *Jagir* in Sultanpur near Kapurthala. It is situated on the old Grand Trunk Road between Lahore and Delhi and was a place of importance at that time.

Nanaki knew the worth of Guru Nanak and loved and respected him much. On his part, Nanak also showed great respect to his sister and was greatly attached to her. When attempts failed to turn his attention to worldly matters, and to induce him to give up his meditative habits, as well as those of giving away in charity whatever he could lay hands on in his father's house, the father thought it advisable to send him to his sister who always used to intercede for him.

In V.S. 1542 (1485 A.D.) his brother-in-law, Jai Ram, took him to the Nawab, who put Nanak in charge of his store-house (*Modikhana*) which was full of all sorts of provisions. This business was very agreeable to Nanak's position. He opened the doors of the store-house to the poor and needy. All who came to him went away satisfied with food, clothes and money. His charity was given with such a liberal hand that ultimately he was charged with having squandered away all the stores. He was, therefore, confined pending the settlement of accounts. However, when the Nawab inspected the *Modikhana*, and examined the accounts as well as the balance of provisions in stock, everything was found to be in proper order and the reports made to him were found to be without any foundation. Thereupon new honours were conferred on Guru Nanak. Later on, similar charges were again brought against him, but on enquiry they also proved to be entirely groundless. After that the Nawab would not listen to any complaints made against him and the Guru went on doing his duty until he voluntarily gave it up in V.S. 1556 (1499 A.D.) as will be explained later on. The room in which Guru Nanak was confined under orders of the Nawab is now called 'Kothri Sahib'.

In V.S. 1544 (1487 A.D.) Guru Nanak was married to Bibi Sulakhani, daughter of one Mul Chand Chona Khatri of Batala in the Gurdaspur District. He had two sons, Sri Chand born on 5th Sawan, V.S. 1551 (1494 A.D.) and Lakhami Das born on 19th Phagan, V.S. 1553 (1497 A.D.). The former renounced the world and founded a sect of ascetics called *Udasis*. They wear their hair long, binding it on the head like a turban. They rub ashes on the body, the application of a razor to any part of it being strictly prohibited. Nor do they use short breeches. Lakhami Das became a man of the world and had two sons whose descendants remain to this day.

While at Sultanpur, Guru Nanak always used to bathe early in the morning in the *Bein* rivulet. The plum (or *ber*) tree under which he used to sit still stands and is called 'Babe ki Ber' and the place where he used to bathe is termed 'Sant Ghat'. One morning when he went to bathe there, he concealed himself somewhere. On the report of Nanak's disappearance being made to him, the Nawab tried all means to find him out but in vain. There were different rumours afloat. Some said Nanak had given away the whole store-house in alms, and it was said that being unable to make up the deficiency he had committed suicide by drowning. Others said something else. However, his sister Nanaki was of a different opinion. She said he must have gone somewhere for divine worship. It is stated that the Guru then went heavenwards and waited upon the Lord in his celestial abode. A good deal of conversation is believed to have taken place with the Lord. The Guru chanted many hymns in praise and laudation of the Lord who enjoined upon him the repetition of the sacred word *Vaheguru* as *Gurmantra* (sermon of the Lord) as well as the fundamental doctrine—

ੴ ਸਤਿ ਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ,
ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੈਭੰ ਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥

*Ik-Oaṅkār Sat(i) nām(u) Kartā Purkh(u) Nirbhau Nirvair(u),
Akāl Mūrat(i) Ajūnī Saibhaṅg Gur Prasād(i).*¹⁰ (p. 1)

God is but one, His name is true, He is the Creator, He is pervading the whole universe, He is without fear, He is without enmity, He is an immortal being. He is not subject to birth, He is self-born and self-existent, He is the remover of darkness and is merciful.

This doctrine the Guru was ordered by the Lord to repeat, adding to it that, the Lord was true in the beginning of the universe, nay, even before that when there was nothing besides the Lord, that He was truly existing still, and that He would continue to exist when all else would cease to exist. It was the mission of the Guru to preach and propagate this doctrine which is the religious formula upon which the whole superstructure of the Sikh religion stands. When the Nawab had

10. See also Chapter XXIII.

lost all hope for him, the Guru, after performing his holy journey, appeared again on the third day and sat in a graveyard on the bank of the river. He did not go back to the *Modikhana* nor his own home. The Nawab earnestly entreated him to continue in his employ but he flatly refused adding that he had undertaken the service of the Lord. Accounts of the *Modikhana* were then carefully checked and a handsome amount was found due to Nanak. The Guru desired it to be given in charity, but when the case of his children was represented, the Nawab gave them one half of it with his concurrence, while the other half was given to the poor and needy.

It was at this time that the Nawab thinking that the Guru forbade idolatry and preached the unity and Fatherhood of God, said to him that since he had become the servant of the Lord and all religions were alike to him, therefore he might openly embrace the Islam and join him in performing the Friday afternoon prayers in Jam'a Masjid. The Guru agreed and joined accordingly. But when the whole congregation was standing in prayers, he stepped back and sat in silence. When the prayers were over, the disappointed Nawab asked him the cause of his behaviour and non participation in prayers. The reply was that both the Nawab and the prelate (*Imam*) had lost their concentration of mind which was essential in prayer. He told them that when they had put their heads on the ground their mind was running wild and astray, and while their bodies were bowing down in worship, their mind was absent. He explained that the Nawab during the service was thinking of purchasing horses from Kandhar while the *Imam*, going automatically through the bowing process was uneasy that his new born filly, which was not tethered, might fall into a pit that was situated within his own compound. The fact was admitted by the Nawab and the *Imam*, that their attention was really divided as explained by Guru Nanak. The *Qazi* then commenced a religious discourse and was obliged to acknowledge the Guru's spiritual power. The Nawab then entreated for divine blessings which were granted. The *Imam* asked for the righteous path and was told to attend the prayers in sincerity and with concentration of mind and to lead his life with noble acts and purity of heart.

Immediately after his return from the celestial journey the Guru became a public preacher. Put on the garb of a *faqir* (mendicant), he began to preach his mission openly and teach righteousness to all classes and religions alike, with no distinction whatsoever. His preaching had great effect and the people leaving off polytheism, stone and idol-worship and the worship of tombs etc. began to follow his simple and pure theism. Religious priests, both Hindus and Muhammadans, whose revenues and prestige began to suffer, resented it greatly. It was at the instance of the *Mullahs* that the Nawab had persuaded the Guru to join in prayers in the Jam'a Masjid with an ulterior motive to his being brought into the Islamic fold. After a short stay at Sultanpur as a *faqir* and public preacher, Mardana, minstrel of Talwandi (the birth-place of the Guru) came and joined the Guru. He had been sent by the Guru's father to learn about his health. Taking him along with himself the Guru at the age of 31 years, started on his mission in *Phagan* V.S. 1556 (1500 A.D.). Having crossed the Beas river he halted at Goindwal and foretold the future of the place.¹¹

After that, through Fatehabad, he came to the spot where the Amritsar holy tank is to be found now and predicted the holiness and importance which were reserved for it in ages to come. Then he paid a visit to Ram Tirath, and had a long religious discourse with different sectarians, and denounced stone and idol-worship in various beautiful and excellent hymns. Many began to follow him, giving up idolatry and unrighteous ways. On his way, he visited Lahore, and seeing numerous animals slaughtered by the butchers, he observed :

ਲਾਹੌਰੁ ਸਗਰੁ ਜਗਰੁ ਕਗਰੁ ਸਵਾ ਪਹਰੁ ॥

Lāhor(u) Sahar(u), jabar(u) kabar(u), sawā pahar(u).

The city of Lahore has severe calamity upon it 1¼ *pahar*
(about 4 hours) daily. (AGGS—p. 1412)

Hearing of the fame of the Guru, thousands of citizens daily attended upon him to hear his divine sermons.

11. He referred to the sanctity which was to be attached to the locality during the time of the third Guru when a magnificent shrine with a *Baoli* (a well with 84 steps) was constructed, for the maintenance of which Emperor Akbar had assigned 84 villages in *Jagir*.

Sayad Ahmad Taqi, who was *Murshid* or religious guide of Sikandar Lodhi, the emperor of Delhi, and at whose instance the Emperor persecuted many noted *Faqirs* like Kabir and Namdev,¹² came along with many others to pay a visit to the Guru and had a very long disputation with him. He could not rebut the strong and forceful arguments and the indisputable doctrines of the Guru. He was compelled to submit and, paying homage to the Guru, retired in peace.

The Guru halted at Lahore for some days and then came to Emnabad to pay a visit to a carpenter, named Lalo, and put up at the place where the shrine of Rori Sahib now stands. Here he used to prosecute his spiritual meditations on a bed of pebbles, or *rors* from which the shrine derives its name. During his stay there, one Bhag Mal, a Hindu official, gave a charitable feast (*Brahm bhoj*) to which Guru Nanak was also invited. But he did not accept the invitation. The Hindus were already against him on account of his new tenets which greatly affected the high castes and priestly class especially. When Bhag Mal was informed of the Guru's conduct, he used insulting language in respect of the Guru. On hearing this, the Guru in a hymn said that the Khattris, having abandoned their duty, had begun to live on unlawful earnings. Next day the Guru and Bhai Lalo were sent for by Bhag Mal in his court and he sneeringly asked the Guru the cause of his refusal to accept the invitation. The reply was that honestly earned bread (as that of Lalo) was good whereas Bhag Mal's earnings were dishonest being gained by means of extortion and the bleeding of the people. Honest and dishonest earnings he compared respectively to milk and blood. The Guru was challenged to prove his assertion whereupon a loaf of coarse bread was sent for from the house of Lalo as well as rich food from that of Bhag Mal. The Guru squeezed them in the open court, whereupon milk came out of Lalo's loaf, and blood oozed out of Bhag Mal's. The audience were wonder-struck, but Bhag Mal was greatly humbled and dropped down his head in shame raising the fire of vengeance high within him.

During those days, the son of the chief of Emnabad was

12. Sikandar Lodhi ruled Delhi in early sixteenth century and Namdev is believed to have lived in 13th century.—Ed.

seriously suffering from some illness. He had tried many medicines but in vain. Finding this opportunity and in order to feed fat his grudge against Guru Nanak, Bhag Mal suggested to the Khan to imprison all the *faqirs* he could lay hands on, so that he might happen to find some competent one who could instantaneously cure the patient. By this dodge he thought that the Guru was sure to be arrested and would thus undergo immense trouble in jail. Several *faqirs* were captured and the Guru was one amongst them. The Guru cured the patient at once, upon which the chief or Pathan grandee thanked him and apologised for his conduct. The Guru pardoned him. Observing this, Malik Bhago (or Bhag Mal) was left with no alternative but to fall at the feet of the Guru and ask for forgiveness, which was granted by the gracious and merciful Guru. However considering the behaviour of the Pathan grandee and the general demoralization prevailing among the inhabitants there, the Guru said that retributive justice was to descend upon them when Babar would come from Kabul to chastise them in V.S. 1578. He recited the well known hymns in *Rag Tilang*¹³ in which, after intimating that prophecy was accorded with the Divine Will. He explained that Babar would bring an army from Kabul, which would be formed of the sum total of the sins of the sinful for whose destruction it was destined. In that hymn he informs us that at that time modesty and righteousness had disappeared, unrighteousness was holding its sway. Satan was acting as priest on the occasion of marriage ceremonies. After horrible details he added that the Almighty was sure to mete out justice to the wicked and unrighteous. The destruction of Saidpur¹⁴ also was at the same time predicted.

During the Guru's sojourn at Ennabad, Mardana took leave of him to visit Talwandi to see his family there. The Guru's parents asked him about their son's whereabouts and welfare. Rai Bular, who was then very infirm on account of old age asked him to request the Guru to pay a visit to Talwandi so that he

13. See the Holy Granth, *Rag Tilang*, Hymn no. V, pp. 722-23. This prediction was duly fulfilled. The gap in the continuity of the reign of the Mughal family when Humayun was expelled from India by Sher Shah Suri was also then predicted and fulfilled—see chapter II also.

14. Saidpur was quite close to the present Ennabad and was ruled by the Pathans.

might be able to see him. Bhai Bala who did not accompany the Guru during his previous journey, also came along with Mardana to Emnabad. The Rai's message was duly delivered and the Guru, in order to comply with it, started towards Talwandi. On his arrival there, he stayed by the well¹⁵ of Bhai Bala's father which was at a short distance from the village and the Rai was informed of it. The Guru's relations went there and brought him to the Rai's house. When the relations began to explain how they stood towards him in relationship, in order to persuade him to abandon his mission, he uttered the following hymns in *Rag Ram Kali*.

ਖਿਮਾ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਮਾਤਾ ਕਹੀਐ ਸੰਤੋਖ ਹਮਾਰਾ ਪਿਤਾ ।
 ਸਤਿ ਹਮਾਰਾ ਚਾਚਾ ਕਹੀਐ ਜਿਸ ਸੰਗ ਮਨੂਆ ਜਿਤਾ ।
 ਸੁਨ ਲਾਲੂ ਤੂੰ ਗੁਣ ਐਸੇ ।
 ਸਗਲੇ ਲੋਗ ਬੰਧਨ ਕੇ ਬੰਧੇ ਸੋ ਗੁਣ ਕਹੀਐ ਕੈਸੇ ।
 ਭਾਉ ਭਾਈ ਸੰਗ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਪ੍ਰੀਤਿ ਸੋ ਚਾਚਾ ।
 ਧੀਅ ਹਮਾਰੇ ਧੀਰਜ ਬਨੀ ਹੈ ਐਸਾ ਸੰਗ ਹਮਾਰਾ ।
 ਸਾਂਤ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਸੰਗ ਸਹੇਲੀ ਪਤ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਚੇਲੀ ।
 ਏਹੁ ਕੁਟੰਬ ਹਮਾਰਾ ਕਹੀਐ ਸਾਸ ਹਮਾਰੀ ਖੇਲੀ ।
 ਏਕ ਅੰਕਾਰ ਹਮਾਰਾ ਖਾਵੰਦ ਜਿਨ ਏਹ ਬਨਤ ਬਨਾਈ ।
 ਉਸ ਕੋ ਤਿਆਗ ਅਵਰ ਕੋ ਲਾਗੇ ਨਾਨਕ ਸੋ ਦੁਖ ਪਾਈ ।¹⁶

Khima hamārī mātā kabīai santokh hamārā pitā.
Sat(i) hamārā chāchā kabīai jis sang manūā jitā.
Sun Lālū¹⁷ tūn guṇ aise.
Sagle log bandhan ke bandhe so guṇ kabīai kaise.
Bhāu bhāi sang hamāre prem prīt(i) so chāchā.
Dhīa hamāre dhīraj banī hai aisā sang hamārā.
Sānt hamārī sang sahelī pat hamārī chelī.
Eb(u) kuṭāṇb hamārā kabīai sās hamārī khelī.
Ek aṅkār hamārā khāvaṇd jin eb banat banāī.
Us ko tiāg avar ko lāge Nānak so dukh pāī.

Forgiveness is my mother and contentment my father;
 Truth is my uncle with which I have controlled my
 mind;

Hear O Lalu, this is meritorious; all the people are

15. This is now held in great reverence.

16. This has been taken from *Janam Sakhi Bhai Bala*, *Sakhi* No. 25 and is not a part of *Gurbani* enshrined in the *Guru Granth*.—Ed.

17. The real uncle of Guru Nanak, being the younger brother of his father.

bound by worldly engagements and how can their relationship be termed a merit;
 Love (of the Lord) which is my brother, is my companion, whereas affection is my uncle;
 Patience is my daughter, such is my company formed of;
 Peace is my constant female companion and intelligence my hand-maid;
 Thus is composed my whole family who are my constant associates;
 The only one God who has created the whole universe, is my husband;
 He who forsakes Him and seeks another, O Nanak ! shall suffer.

On seeing the Guru, Rai Bular was very much pleased. His vast learning and persuasive eloquence struck him a great deal. The Rai wanted to induce him to remain at Talwandi by offering him land, but Nanak was quite indifferent to such an offer and politely refused it. All proposals for trade, shopkeeping and service were rejected. When the Rai asked him to accept grant of revenue and free land for a public feeding-house, the Guru uttered a hymn in which he explained that the Lord had already provided a general kitchen for his creatures in the whole universe and no other feeding-house was feasible. When the Rai asked him for a blessing to commend him to the Lord so that he might be admitted into the Divine Court, the Guru said that the only thing acceptable to the Lord was to abide by His Will. The Guru uttered the following hymn on this occasion in *Rag Sarang*:

ਇਕ ਫੁਰਮਾਇਸ ਆਖੀਐ ਜੇ ਮੰਨੇ ਸਾਈ।
 ਜਿਸਤੇ ਜੋਰ ਨਾ ਚਲਈ ਕਰਿ ਜੋਰ ਧਿਆਈ।
 ਐਸਾ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਰਾਇ ਜੀ ਕਿਸੈ ਹਾਥ ਨਾ ਆਵੈ।
 ਸਾਈ ਕਾਰ ਕਮਾਵਣੀ ਜੋ ਉਸਕੋ ਭਾਵੈ।੧॥ਰਹਾਉ॥
 ਹਿਕਮਤ ਹੁਕਮ ਨ ਚਲਈ ਕੋਈ ਕਰ ਦੇਖੈ।
 ਸੇਖ ਮਸਾਇਕ ਸਿਧ ਸਾਧ ਸਭ ਲਈਐ ਲੇਖੈ।
 ਦਸ ਅਵਤਾਰੀ ਆਇਆ ਜਗ ਹੁਕਮ ਚਲਾਇਆ।
 ਅੰਤ ਕਾਲ ਧਰਤੀ ਪਏ ਕੁਛ ਹਥ ਨ ਆਇਆ।

ਵਡੇ ਵਡੇ ਮਹਾਂ ਬਲੀ ਜੋਧੇ ਅਰ ਸੂਰੇ।
ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਭ ਦੇਖਿਆ ਸਭ ਧਰਤੀ ਧੂਰੇ।*

*Ik furmāis ākhīai je manne sāin.
Jis te jor na chalaī kar(i) jor dhiāin.
Aisā Satigur Rāi jī kisai bāth nā āvai.
Sāi kār kamāvanī jo usko bhāvai.1.Rahāo.
Hikmat bukam na chalaī koī kar dekhai.
Sekh masāik sidh sādth sabh laīai lekhai.
Das avtārī āiā jag bukam chalāiā.
Ant kāl dhartī pae kuchh bath na āiā.
Vaḍe vaḍe mahārī balī jodhe ar sūre.
Kahu Nānak sabh dekhiā sabh dhartī dhūre.*

I recommend to you one thing, that you obey the Lord,
Supplicate with folded hands to one whom thou canst
not force.

O Rai, no one can find such a true Guru;
Do whatever pleases Him, wisdom and command will
not do, let anyone try and see.
Sheikhs, Mashaikh, Sidhs and Sadhs (Hindu and
Muhammadan holy persons) shall all be called upon
to render accounts.

He (Vishnu) assumed ten incarnations and ruled the
world.

In the end he became one with dust and gained
nothing.

The greatest powerful, the warriors and heroes,
Nanak says, have all crumbled into dust.

During his halt at Talwandi, the Guru went to bathe early
in the morning, but at that time no well was working. Then
he asked, if there was any water storage tank there for the
purpose. The reply was in the negative. Afterwards Rai Bular
got a tank dug there and named it after the name of the Guru.
It exists to this day. After his visit to Talwandi, the Guru
accompanied by Bhai Bala and Mardana, returned to Emnabad
in accordance with his promise to see Bhai Lalo again. After
that, while touring through the *Darp*¹⁸ *Ilaqa*, the Guru reached

* This verse is not included in *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*—Ed.

18. The habitation of mendicants (*faqirs*).

the villages of Sihoke and Sahoke in Sialkot district. He heard there that one Hamza Gaus, a Muhammadan *faqir* was performing a *chilla* (forty day's fast) in which he had undertaken to fast and confine himself in a vault, for 40 days offering prayers, in order to annihilate the town of Sialkot. Therefore the Guru directed his course towards Sialkot. On his arrival there, he sat under a *ber* (plum) tree and sent for the *Faqir* thrice, but he would not even respond to his call. At this the Guru stood upright and looked towards the high masonry tower in which the *Faqir* was confining himself. As the Guru did so, the tower burst open and through the opening thus made, the rays of the sun fell directly upon the face of the *Faqir*. He was alarmed and immediately ran towards the Guru and apologised for his conduct. The Guru asked him the cause of his undertaking such a drastic course. He related the whole story thus :

One Ganga, Khatri of Sialkot, was childless. He once came to me and obtained my blessing. He promised that if he got any children, he would present the eldest born to me as my disciple. He got three sons, but refused to fulfil his promise which excited my just wrath, and thinking that the whole town was inhabited by liars like him, I vowed to annihilate it. I, therefore, shut myself up in the masonry tower to fast for forty days, undertaking not to see the light of day again until the curse was effectually carried out.

The Guru said that it was wrong of him to consider the whole town inhabited by liars and to destroy it as such. But the *Faqir* persisted in his statement that the whole population was that of liars. Thereupon to rebut it, the Guru gave Mardana two pice for purchasing 'truth' worth one and 'falsehood' worth the other. After some inquiry from the shopkeepers Mardana got from one Mul Chand two bits of folded paper and brought them to the Guru. When he unfolded and read them over to the *Faqir*, one contained :

Jīwnā jhūṭh hai, to live is false, and the other
Marnā sach hai, to die is true.

Then the Guru said to the *Faqir* that his own self was

playing false to him as it was making him do an act which would eventually lead him to hell. And he added that if he wanted to benefit by his *faqiri* he must subdue and control his own mind. Otherwise it was sure to lead him astray, as he was going to do an evil to the innocent and truth-abiding people along with some guilty. Thus rebuked, the *Faqir* admitted his fault and gave up his evil design. At the place where the above conversation took place, now stands a big and well known shrine called 'Ber Baba Nanak' or the sacred *Ber* Tree of Baba Nanak, and the said tower is still in existence close by, and is visible from a distance.

The Guru then saw Mul Chand, the shopkeeper, who sold truth and falsehood as mentioned above, praised him for his love of truth and asked him if he would like to keep the Guru's company to which he consented. Taking him along with himself the Guru went through Pasrur, Gujranwala and Mattupind to Talwandi and visited his parents, relations, friends and Rai Bular.

After a brief stay there he went to Chhanga Manga and passed some days in a jungle in that neighbourhood. Thence through Kasur he went to Chunian. Thereafter by way of Malva and Bangar, the Guru arrived at Bhoe, and stayed on the banks of the Saraswati river. There, he saw people offering balls of barley (*pinds*) to be delivered to their ancestors in their celestial abodes. The *pandas* (priests) were robbing them of their money under various pretexts, telling them that deeds of charity or sin committed there were sure to multiply a hundred fold each day. The Guru preached and explained that the *pandas* were misleading the people and that everyone was to be judged according to his own actions. He told the priests that if their assertions were true they were raising and accumulating loans by the receipt of offerings which they would never be able to repay without various stages of transmigration for the purpose. Besides he explained to them that they were themselves guilty of falsehood, misrepresentation and misleading the people for which they would have to suffer grievously. He advised them to refrain from all these evil deeds and to live upon honest earnings. At the same time he showed them the righteous path, the true worship of the one Lord, and the hollowness of

polytheism and stone-worship. None could rebut his persuasive eloquence and all had to accept his arguments.

From Bhoj the Guru went to Kurukshetra. It was the day of solar eclipse and there was a big gathering of pilgrims. Numerous offerings were being made to the priests. Many religious discussions took place with different persons and large congregations attended to hear the sermons of the Guru. He explained that the Earth, Sun, Moon and stars were all suspended in the air,¹⁹ ever moving and running on their natural courses, and the eclipse was nothing but a natural shadow of the Moon caused by its coming in the path of the light of the Sun reaching the Earth and that the custom of making offering on the occasion was nothing beyond a selfish invention of the priests in order to increase their own revenues to fill their coffers.

Leaving Kurukshetra, the Guru went to Karnal (then a small village). He had a long discourse with Sheikh Sharf of Panipat who was there on a visit to Sheikh Tatiri. From what he saw of and learnt from the Guru the Sheikh got a firm belief in his spiritual power.

In V.S. 1558 (1501 A.D.) the Guru came to the Kumbh fair at Hardwar. Considerable people and various sectarians attended his sermons, in which unrighteousness, polytheism, idol and stone-worship were altogether condemned, and many among the audience embraced his belief in monotheism. The Raja of Garhwal who was also among them requested the Guru to pay a visit to his capital, but he declined, saying that he had more important business elsewhere. On his way to Hardwar, the Guru met a party of *Vaishnos* (a class of sectarians who follow the Vishnu God), who were cooking their food in a *Chauka* (a small square enclosed by lines for cooking). Mardana asked for fire, whereupon the sectarians were enraged and prepared to assault him. The reason was that when any but their co-sectarians enter their *chauka* or cooking square they think that all their food as well as water lying therein had become impure and unfit for their use. The Guru addressed them the following *shalok* in *Siri Rag* :

19. Freely existing in space.—Ed.

ਕੁਬੁਧਿ ਡੂਮਣੀ ਕੁਦਇਆ ਕਸਾਇਣਿ
 ਪਰ ਨਿੰਦਾ ਘਟ ਚੂਹੜੀ ਮੁਠੀ ਕ੍ਰੋਧਿ ਚੰਡਾਲਿ ॥
 ਕਾਰੀ ਕਢੀ ਕਿਆ ਥੀਐ ਜਾਂ ਚਾਰੇ ਬੈਠੀਆ ਨਾਲਿ ॥

Kubudh(i) dūmanī kudaia Kasāiṇ(i)
par niṇdā ghaṭ chūhaṛī muṭhī krodh(i) chaṇḍā(i).
Kārī kaḍhī kiā thīai jān chāre baiṭhīā nāl(i). (p. 91)

Evil-mindedness is *dumni* (a low Muḥammadan female of the *dum* or minstrel caste), cruelty is a female butcher, backbiting is a sweeper woman within and anger is an outcaste which ruins the world.

The drawing of lines around you cannot be of any use when all these four sit with you in your *Chauka*.

The Guru convinced them that they were contaminating their food with their own impurities. On hearing this the sectarians came to their senses and their eyes were opened. They humbly submitted and asked how these evil companions could be avoided and dissociated from them. Then the Guru composed the following hymns :

ਸਚੁ ਸੰਜਮੁ ਕਰਣੀ ਕਾਰਾ ਨਾਵਣੁ ਨਾਉ ਜਪੇਹੀ ॥
 ਨਾਨਕ ਅਗੈ ਉਤਮ ਸੇਈ ਜਿ ਪਾਪਾਂ ਪੰਦਿ ਨ ਦੇਹੀ ॥

Sach(u) sanjam(u) karaṇī kārā nāvaṇ(u) nāo japehī.
Nānak agai ūtam sei je pāpān paṇḍ(i) na dehī. (p. 91)

Let control of thy passions be thy purity, the good actions thy lines (cooking square) and constant repetition of the Lord's name thy ablutions.

O Nanak ! He shall be the best in the divine court who does not walk in the path of sin.

Hearing this and similar other teachings and sermons, the sectarians embraced the faith of the Guru, and freed themselves from all superstitious attachments.

From Hardwar the Guru reached Delhi via Najibabad and Anup Shahr. Sikandar Lodhi was then the emperor reigning over India. He was very cruel, bigoted, unjust and tyrannical towards the Hindus. They were restrained from performing their religious ceremonies and were even forbidden to shave their heads. On occasion of a Hindu pilgrimage *Tauzak Sikandri* discloses the harshness, unjust taxation and persecutions to

which the Hindus were then subjected. The famous Pandit of Kashi one Shiva Nand was buried alive in the ground and mercilessly put to death. His only offence was his statement that both the Hindu and Muhammadan religions were made by God. The well known reformer Kabir was thrown into the Ganges river. Nam Dev, a Hindu devotee, was thrown before a ferocious and infuriated elephant to be trampled to death. Ram Das, another Hindu votary was imprisoned. Sadana, a monotheist, was barbarously butchered.²⁰ All this oppression was practised for no other offence of theirs than, that they refused to embrace Islam and clung to their own belief in one true God. Besides those named above, hundreds of more Hindu *Faqirs* were imprisoned and employed in the jail to grind corn, pending their acceptance of Islam. Being informed of the oppression thus practised on the innocent, the Guru went there and was like others, caught, put and employed in the jail. He uttered the following hymn in *Rag Asa*.

ਕੋਲੂ ਚਰਖਾ ਚਕੀ ਚਕੁ ॥
 ਥਲ ਵਾਰੋਲੇ ਬਹੁਤੁ ਅਨੰਤੁ ॥
 ਲਾਟੂ ਮਾਧਾਣੀਆ ਅਨਗਾਹ ॥
 ਪੰਖੀ ਭਉਦੀਆ ਲੈਨਿ ਨ ਸਾਹ ॥
 ਸੂਐ ਚਾੜਿ ਭਵਾਈਅਹਿ ਜੰਤ ॥
 ਨਾਨਕ ਭਉਦਿਆ ਗਣਤ ਨ ਅੰਤ ॥

Kolū charkhā chakī chak(u).

Thal vārole babut(u) anant(u).

Lāṭū mādhāṇīā angāh.

Pañkhī bbaudiā lain(i) na sāh.

Sūai chār(i) bhavāīaih janit.

Nānak bbaudiā gaṇat na ant.

(p. 465)

Numberless oil-presses, spinning wheels, hand-mills,
 potter's wheels.

Plates²¹ and numerous whirlwinds,

Tops, churning staves, thrashing frames,

Birds are ever flying round without taking breath.

20. All the above named Bhaktas were not contemporaries of Sikandar Lodhi. Hence the statement cannot be accepted. But the fact remains that Sikandar Lodhi was cruel even towards non-Muslim mendicants.—Ed.

21. *Thāl*—a plate poised and whirled on the top of a stick.

Animals are put on stakes going around,
O Nanak! Tumblers are innumerable and endless.

When the Guru was chanting this hymn all the millstones began to move automatically and the jailer reported the fact to the Emperor. He immediately came to the spot and asked the Guru for pardon.²² Thereon he recited the following hymn :

ਏਕ ਨੂਰ ਤੈ ਖਲਕ ਉਪਾਈ, ਆਪ ਖੁਦਾ ਨੇ ਬਾੜੀ ਲਾਈ।
ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਰਾਜੇ ਏ ਮਾਲੀ ਪਾਲ ਹੇਤ ਬਨਾਏ ਹੇ।
ਹਿੰਦੂ ਤੁਰਕ ਦੀਨ ਸਭ ਕੂੜੇ, ਬਾਦ ਬਿਬਾਦ ਕਰਤ ਹੈਂ ਮੂੜੇ।
ਜੰਮਨ ਮਰਨ ਏਕ ਸਮ ਸਭ ਕੋ ਲੇਖਾ ਦੇਨਾ ਜਾਏ ਹੇ।
ਦੂਈ ਲਖ ਜਿਨ ਖਲਕ ਦੁਖਾਈ, ਖਸ ਖਸ ਲੈਂਦੇ ਵਸਤ ਪ੍ਰਾਈ।
ਅਜਰਾਈਲ ਤਿਨਾ ਫੜ ਮਾਰੇ ਦੋਜ਼ਖ ਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਪਾਏ ਹੇ।
ਆਪ ਖੁਦਾਇ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਨਬੇੜੇ, ਲਹੇ ਸਜ਼ਾਈਂ ਜੈਸੇ ਫੇੜੇ।
ਈਸਾ ਮੂਸਾ ਰਾਮ ਮੁਹੰਮਦ ਕੋਇ ਨਾ ਕਿਸੇ ਬਚਾਏ ਹੇ।
ਏਥੇ ਗੋਇਲ ਵਾਸਾ ਆਏ, ਦੁਨੀਆਂ ਕਾਰਣ ਪਾਪ ਕਮਾਏ।
ਲੇਖਾ ਮਾਂਗੇ ਸਿਰਜਨਹਾਰਾ ਖਸ ਖਸ ਦੇ ਸਮ ਭਾਈ ਹੇ।
ਪੀਰ ਪੈਕੰਬਰ ਵਲੀ ਫਕੀਰਾ, ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਕੰਗਾਲ ਅਮੀਰਾ।
ਅਮਲਾਂ ਉਤੇ ਹੋਣ ਨਿਬੇੜੇ ਸਚੇ ਸਚ ਤਿਥਾਹੀ ਹੇ।

ਪਰ ਧਨ ਪਰ ਤੀਆ ਰਤੇ ਜੇਈ।
ਥਮ ਤਪਾਏ ਲਗਾਈਅਨ ਤੇਈ।
ਤੜਫ ਤੜਫ ਬਿਲ ਲਾਇ ਪੁਕਾਰਨ ਪਾਪ ਕਰੇ ਜਿਨ ਭਾਰੇ ਹੇ।
ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹ ਜੇ ਦਾਦ ਨ ਦੇਹੈ, ਸੋ ਦੋਜ਼ਖ ਦੇ ਵਿਚ ਸਦ ਹੀ ਰੇਹੈ।
ਕਰੇ ਨਿਆਉਂ ਬਹਿਸਤ ਸੋ ਪਾਵੇ ਨਾਨਕ ਏਹ ਗਲ ਸਾਰੇ ਹੇ।*

Ek nūr tai khalak upāī, āp Khudā ne bārī lāī.
Bādsbāh Rāje eh mālī pāl het banāe be.
Hindū turk dīn sabh kūre,
bād bibād kart haiṁ mūre,
Janman marn ek sam sabh ko, lekhā denā jāe be.
Dūī lakh jin khalaq dukhāī,
khas khas laiṁde vast parāī,
Ajrāīl tinā phar māre, dozakh de vich pāe be.
Āp Khudāe niāon nabere,
labe sazāīn jaise phere,
Isā, Musā, Rām, Muhammad, koe nā kise bachāe be.
Ethe goel vāsā āe,
duniā kārāṇ pāp kamāe.

22. Some *Janam Sakhis* relate this *Sākbī* to the imprisonment of Nanak by Babar during his sack of Saidpur.

* This verse is not included in *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*—Ed.

*Lekhā māṅge Sirjanbhārā khas khas de sam bhāī he.
 Pīr, Paikambar, Valī Faqīrā,
 Bādsbāh Kaṅgāl Amīrā,
 Amlān utte hoṅ nibere sacho sach tithāhī he.
 Par dhan par tīā rate jeī,
 Tham tapāe lagāian teī.
 taraph taraph bil lāe pukāran pāp kare jin bhāre he.
 Bādsbāh je dād na debai,
 so dozakh de vich sad hī rehai.
 Kare niāon babisht so pāve,
 Nānak eh gal sāre he.*

(The Lord) created mankind from one and the same
 light,

God himself planted the garden,
 He had made kings and Rajas as gardeners to look after
 it,

Hindu and Turk (Muhammadan) religions are all false,
 These fools are engaged in useless controversies,
 They are all alike subject to birth, death and the
 rendering of their accounts (on the judgement day),
 Whoever recognizing differentiation oppresses the
 people (and)

Gladly seizes the property of others.

Gabriel will torment him to death in the hell fire,
 The Almighty will personally judge there,
 Awarding punishment according to the individual's
 actions,

Christ, Moses, Rama nor Muhammad will be able to
 rescue them there,

They (creatures) come here, into this world, for a short
 stay only,

And commit sins for the sake of wealth,
 The Creator will call for accounts even to the extent
 of a poppy seed,

The Pirs, Prophets, Valis, Faqirs,
 The King, the beggar and the rich,
 Shall all alike be judged there justly according to their
 respective actions.

Those who enjoy another's wealth and wife,
 Shall be fastened to red burning pillars.

They who have committed great sins, shall lament in agony,
 The King who does not do justice,
 Shall ever remain in hell,
 One who does justice will get heavens,
 Nanak says it is the truth.

The force of the Guru's eloquence was such that the Emperor was compelled to apologise for his conduct and repented for it. He also offered valuable presents which the Guru declined. However, at his suggestion, all the Hindu *Faquirs* in confinement, were set free. Hearing the fame of the Guru many noted Hindu and Muhammadan holy persons came and had long religious discourses with him at Delhi.²³ All of them were quite satisfied with his ideas and admitted the truth of his preachings.

Leaving Delhi the Guru proceeded to Benaras (Kashi) passing through Koel, Mathura, Bindraban, Agra, Itawa, Kanpur, Lucknow, Ajudhia, Paryag, Mirzapur etc. At Benaras he halted at the place which is now called 'Guru Ka Bagh' (Guru's Garden).

Several Hindu votaries like Namdev, Ravidas, Trilochan, met him there and had divine discourses. When he left Benaras for Patna, Kabir, who was absent from Benaras during his stay there, met him on the way close to the village of Pusa in *Kartik* V.S. 1558 (1501 A.D.). The Guru and Kabir²⁴ remained together for seven days and then the former went to Patna via Jaunpur, Chapra, Ara, Baksar etc.

23. The Guru then stayed at a place called 'Majnu Ka Tila' about 2 miles to the North of the present town of Delhi or Shah Jahanabad.

24. The parentage of Kabir is unknown. On Sudi 15th *Jeth* V.S. 1455 (1398 A.D.) he was found as a newly born and wrapped up in a cloth by Niru, a Muhammadan weaver, on the bank of a tank in the village of Julahapur at a distance of about one kos from Benaras. Niru brought up the founding as his own son. In his childhood, in V.S. 1462, Kabir was sleeping on the bank of the Ganges when he was struck by the feet of Rama Nand. He began to cry. Thereupon Rama Nand was moved with mercy and touching his head with love, told him not to weep and to repeat the name of Rama. From that time Kabir took him for his Guru. In 1471 V.S. he was married to Loi, the daughter of Neti, a weaver. In 1481 V.S. a son named Kamala, was born to her. In *Magh* V.S. 1545 (1488 A.D.) he was bound hands and feet and thrown into the Ganges under the orders of the Emperor. On *Maghar Sudi* 11, V.S. 1575 (1518 A.D.) Kabir died at Maghre in the district of Gorakhpur. He was respected by both—

During his stay at Patna, Mardana asked the Guru how it was that generally human life was compared to a precious ruby (*lāl*). If it were in fact so, why should one waste it in sins. The next day when Mardana felt hungry, the Guru gave him a precious ruby for purchasing needed provisions and clothing. He took it to the Bazaar. In the first instance he met a vegetable seller who would give him only one radish in exchange for the ruby whereas Mardana wanted two. Then he went to a confectioner who would not give more than half a seer of sweetmeats in exchange for the ruby. After that he went to a cloth merchant who offered him only two yards of cloth for it. However, when it was taken to the jeweller (*Shroff*) a dealer in gold and silver, its price ranged between Rs. 5 and Rs. 100. Mardana however, did not like to part with it and seeing the variations in prices offered, he considered it advisable to try the jewellers (dealers in gems). They valued it at thousands and after all, one Salis Rai declared it invaluable and offered Rs. 100 as a present in honour of its majesty. Mardana brought the ruby back alongwith the present but the Guru returned the latter as he did not deem it proper to accept it. By this example Mardana was assured that human life was precious and above evaluation as the ruby was, and that none but a chosen few could know and appreciate its worth.

The Guru stayed for some days at Patna and made numerous followers there. When he was about to leave, the people asked him for the erection of an institution, but the Guru replied that they should continue to hold their belief firmly in one God, and the needful would be done by a holy person who would appear in due course of time. By this he predicted the birth of Guru Gobind Singh at Patna, who was the tenth Guru and the last successor of Guru Nanak.

Leaving Patna, the Guru reached Rajgiri at the time of a big fair. There were many sectarians who did not believe in

☛ the Hindus and Muhammadans as their own respective spiritual guide. On his death both of them erected a crematory and tomb which stands to this day. In a *Sloka* (Stanza) Kabir denies his own conception in a womb. He says that he was neither born nor did he dwell in a womb, vide page 122, Vol. VI of Macauliffe's *The Sikh Religion*. (It is still to be conclusively proved that Kabir was a contemporary of Guru Nanak and that he met him.—Ed.)

the existence of God. They had long discourses with the Guru and giving up their atheistic ideas began to worship the Lord God. After that the Guru visited Gaya where the priests, according to Hindu customs, asked him for the offering of a lighted lamp and *pinds* (balls of barley or of rice and milk). On inquiry the priests told him that the balls were for the food of ancestors and the lamp was to show them the way in the pitch dark path which leads to heaven. The Guru replied that the offering was useless and of no avail to them. When they asked what was right, the Guru uttered the following hymn in *Rag Asa* :

ਦੀਵਾ ਮੇਰਾ ਏਕੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਦੁਖੁ ਵਿਚਿ ਪਾਇਆ ਤੇਲੁ ॥
 ਉਨਿ ਚਾਨਣਿ ਓਹੁ ਸੋਖਿਆ ਚੁਕਾ ਜਮ ਸਿਉ ਮੇਲੁ ॥...
 ਪਿੰਡੁ ਪਤਲਿ ਮੇਰੀ ਕੇਸਉ ਕਿਰਿਆ ਸਚੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾਰੁ ॥
 ਐਥੈ ਓਥੈ ਆਗੈ ਪਾਛੈ ਏਹੁ ਮੇਰਾ ਆਧਾਰੁ ॥ ...
 ਇਕ ਲੋਕੀ ਹੋਰੁ ਛਮਿਛਰੀ ਬ੍ਰਾਹਮਣੁ ਵਟਿ ਪਿੰਡੁ ਖਾਇ ॥
 ਨਾਨਕ ਪਿੰਡੁ ਬਖਸੀਸ ਕਾ ਕਬਹੂੰ ਨਿਖੂਟਸਿ ਨਾਹਿ ॥

Divā merā ek(u) Nām(u) dukh(u) vich(i) pāiā tel(u).
Un(i) chānaṇ(i) oh(u) sokhiā chūkā jam sio mel(u)...

Piṇḍ(u) patal(i) merī kesau kiriā sach(u) Nām(u) kartār(u).
Āithai othai āgai pāchhai eh(u) merā ādhār(u)...

Ik lokī hor(u) chhamichharī Brāhman(u) vaṭ(i) piṇḍ(u) khāe.
Nānak piṇḍ(u) bakhsīs kā kabhūn nikhūṭas(i) nāb(i). (p.358)

My lamp is the name alone, and sufferings serve as oil therein.

That (lamp) has been lighted and the oil (sufferings) ended, thus I have escaped meeting the angel of Death,

The true name of the Creator are my barley balls (*pinds*), *pattal* (dhak leave plates in which *pinds* are placed) and true obsequies.

In this world and the next, in the past and the future, that is my support.

Some balls are offered to ancestors, some to the God, but it is the priest who rolls and eats them.

Nanak says the balls of God's gift are inexhaustible.

The Guru explained there that all these ceremonials were

but nonsense. The true performance through which even ancestors could obtain salvation was righteousness and constant repetition of the Lord's name, whereas the priests were spreading a net for their selfish ends for entrapping and robbing the people of their money. It was brought home to them that these ceremonials were merely a delusion for the people, and a safeguard against the loss of the priestly prestige. The audience as well as the priests, admitted the force and truth of the sermons and many were converted to the faith of the Guru.

From Gaya the Guru arrived in Malda in V.S. 1561 (1504 A.D.) via Baij Nath, Bhagalpur, Sahib Ganj, Raj Mahal etc. The Raja of Raj Mahal named Ram Dev Babu kept him there for some time and offered him a garden, which up to this day exists and is called "Guru Ka Bagh" (Guru's Garden).

After that he travelled through Murshidabad, Krishnagar, Shahzadpur, Sirajganj, Kashganj, Manakganj, Devipur, Dhaka, Dhanpur, Balvakund, Gauripur, Kumakhia Devi and then entered Assam. When he reached Dhanpur, Mardana went to the village on business but was enchanted. The women of that place were notorious for witchcraft, but when the Guru came to know about it, he dispelled the enchantment and baffled all attempts to renew it. On the other hand it is said that they also were in their turn entangled in difficulty and their evil craft could not disentangle them. Then they all in a body, came to the Guru and falling at his feet asked for pardon. At that time the Guru addressed to them with the following hymn in *Siri Rag* :

ਗਲੀ ਅਸੀ ਚੰਗੀਆ ਆਚਾਰੀ ਬੁਰੀਆਹ ॥
 ਮਨਹੁ ਕੁਸੁਧਾ ਕਾਲੀਆ ਬਾਹਰਿ ਚਿਟਵੀਆਹ ॥
 ਰੀਸਾ ਕਰਿਹ ਤਿਨਾੜੀਆ ਜੋ ਸੇਵਹਿ ਦਹੁ ਖੜੀਆਹ ॥
 ਨਾਲਿ ਖਸਮੈ ਰਤੀਆ ਮਾਣਹਿ ਸੁਖਿ ਰਲੀਆਹ ॥
 ਹੋਦੈ ਤਾਣਿ ਨਿਤਾਣੀਆ ਰਹਹਿ ਨਿਮਾਨਣੀਆਹ ॥
 ਨਾਨਕ ਜਨਮੁ ਸਕਾਰਥਾ ਜੇ ਤਿਨ ਕੈ ਸੰਗਿ ਮਿਲਾਹ ॥

Galīn asī chaṅgiā āchārī burīāh.

Manoh kusudhā kālīā bāhar(i) chīṭvīāh.

Rīsā kareh tināṛīā jo seveh dar(u) khaṛīāh.

Nāl(i) khasmai ratīā māṇeh sukh(i) raliāh.

Hodai tāṇ(i) nitāṇīā rahai nimānaṇīāh.

Nānak janam(u) sakārthā je tin kai saṅg(i) milāh. (p. 85)

In words we are virtuous but in deeds vicious,
 In heart impure and black but outwardly we profess
 to be innocent,
 We envy those who serve standing at his gate,
 They love their husbands and enjoy pleasure in their
 company.
 You buy earth impregnated with saltpeter and ask for
 musk into the bargain (*Jhoonīgā*).²⁵
 Nanak says, husbands are not obtained without good
 deeds.

Mardana was enchanted by a woman in order to serve as her paramour and the Guru refers to the fact and warns them that they would never be able to obtain good husbands without virtuous behaviour. When in all humbleness they asked for pardon it was granted with the remark that they should give up the study and practice of occult arts, which they did and began to lead virtuous life.

When the Guru entered Assam, he visited Ajmeriganj, Karimganj, Silhit etc. Then through Kachhar he went to Manipur and Asimphal. After that he visited Lushai in Burmah, where the ruler was a Buddhist. When he heard that the Guru's sermons were very effective and so persuasive, that people were beginning to repudiate Buddhism, adopting his monotheistic religion, he was all wrath; and with a drawn sword in hand, rushed towards the place where the Guru was, in order to kill him. On this the Guru uttered a hymn in the vernacular of the Raja. The translation of that hymn is as follow :

ਜਿਸਨੂੰ ਰਾਖੇ ਆਪ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਤਿਸੁ ਕੋਇ ਨ ਸਕੇ ਮਾਰ ॥
 ਨਾਨਕੁ ਦੋਖੀ ਸੰਤ ਕਾ ਪੈਂਦਾ ਨਰਕ ਮਝਾਰ ॥*

*Jis-nūn rākhe āp Prabh tis(u) koe na sake mār.
 Nānak(u) dokhī sant kā paundā narak majhār.*

Whomsoever God protects nobody can kill him.
 Nanak says, one who envies a saint goes to hell.

25. It is an old custom which is now becoming extinct that when one goes to some grocer to make certain purchases, after the due quantity is taken, some addition is generally asked for by the customer. For instance one purchases *Āṭā* and *Ghee* which is paid for. After that one gets a little salt or spices, gratis and this is termed *Jhoonīgā*.

* This verse is not included in *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*.—Ed.

On hearing this the Raja could not strike the blow, and his mind was instantly changed from the evil design. He humbly asked for forgiveness, which was granted. He was so changed that he himself became a follower of the Guru's faith.

The Guru then continued his journey and visited Agartalla, Lakhimpur, Chandpur, Faridpur, Kasabpur, Damdam, 24 Parganahs, Bengal, Bardwan, Sirampur, Morbhaj, Bleshwar, Mednipur, Dalbhum, Kanshipur, Kattak, Sakhi Gopal and Jagan Nath. At the last place the Guru sat opposite the famous temple of Jagan Nath and desired Mardana to play the Rebeck.

On this, many people gathered around and after a short while asked the Guru to visit the Temple. He complied with their request. It was the *Arti* time (performance in which the priests stand before the idol. With lighted chandeliers chanting certain laudatory psalms). The whole congregation stood up before the idol, but the Guru remained sitting as he was. After the *Arti* was over, the priests asked him why he remained sitting. The Guru said, "You were performing false *Arti*, before an idol, whereas I was witnessing the true *Arti* of the true Lord. Your delusiveness and wealth cannot please the True One." The priests inquired which was that true *Arti*, He then recited the following hymn :

ਗਗਨ ਮੈ ਥਾਲੁ ਰਵਿ ਚੰਦੁ ਦੀਪਕ
ਬਨੇ ਤਾਰਿਕਾ ਮੰਡਲ ਜਨਕ ਮੋਤੀ॥
ਧੂਪੁ ਮਲਆਨਲੋ ਪਵਣੁ ਚਵਰੋ ਕਰੇ
ਸਗਲ ਬਨਰਾਇ ਫੂਲੰਤ ਜੋਤੀ॥
ਕੈਸੀ ਆਰਤੀ ਹੋਇ॥
ਭਵ ਖੰਡਨਾ ਤੇਰੀ ਆਰਤੀ॥
ਅਨਹਤਾ ਸਬਦ ਵਾਜੰਤ ਭੇਰੀ॥
ਸਹਸ ਤਵ ਨੈਨ ਨਨ ਨੈਨ ਹਰਿ ਤੋਹਿ ਕਉ
ਸਹਸ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਨਨਾ ਏਕ ਤੋਹੀ॥
ਸਹਸ ਪਦ ਬਿਮਲ ਨਨ ਏਕ ਪਦ ਗੰਧ ਬਿਨੁ
ਸਹਸ ਤਵ ਗੰਧ ਇਵ ਚਲਤ ਮੋਹੀ॥
ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਜੋਤਿ ਹੈ ਸੋਇ॥
ਤਿਸ ਦੇ ਚਾਨਣਿ ਸਭ ਮਹਿ ਚਾਨਣੁ ਹੋਇ॥
ਗੁਰ ਸਾਖੀ ਜੋਤਿ ਪਰਗਟੁ ਹੋਇ॥
ਜੋ ਤਿਸੁ ਭਾਵੈ ਸੁ ਆਰਤੀ ਹੋਇ॥
ਹਰਿ ਚਰਣ ਕਵਲ ਮਕਰੰਦ ਲੋਭਿਤ ਮਨੋ
ਅਨਦਿਨੋ ਮੋਹਿ ਆਹੀ ਪਿਆਸਾ॥

ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਜਲੁ ਦੇਹਿ ਨਾਨਕ ਸਾਹਿਗ ਕਉ
ਹੋਇ ਜਾ ਤੇ ਤੇਰੈ ਨਾਇ ਵਾਸਾ ॥

*Gagan mai thāl(u) rav(i) chānd(u) dīpak,
bane tārikā maṇḍal janak motī.
Dhūp(u) mal-ānlo pavaṇ(u) chavro kare,
sagal banrāe phūlaṇt jotī.
Kaisī ārtī hoe
Bhavkhaṇḍnā terī ārtī.
Anbatā sabad vājaṇt bherī.
Sabas tav nain nan nain haib tobe kau,
Sabas mūrat(i) nanā ek tubī.
Sabas pad bimal nan ek pad gaṇḍh bin(u).
Sabas tav gaṇḍh iv chalat mohī.
Sabb maih jot(i) jot(i) hai soe.
Tis dai chānaṇ(i) sabb maih chānaṇ(u) hoe.
Gur sākhī jot(i) pargaṭ hoe.
Jo tis(u) bhāvai su ārtī hoe.
Har(i) charaṇ kaval makraṇḍ lobhit mano,
andino mohe ābī piāsā.
Kripā jal(u) deb(i) Nānak sāring kau
hoe jā te terai nāe vāsā.*

(p. 13)

O Lord the firmament is Thy salver, the sun and moon
are lamps, and the assembly of stars are pearls fixed
therein.

Sandal of the forest is Thy incense, air Thy *chauri*
(cow's tail) and all the forests are beautiful flowers
for Thee.

What else can Thy *arti* be, O my Merciful Saviour ! in
Thy *Arti* numberless organs are playing.
Thou hast a thousand²⁶ eyes and yet not one eye.
Thou hast a thousand forms feet and yet not one foot.
Thou hast a thousand organs of smell and yet not one
organ.

O Lord ! I have been enamoured of these attributes of
Thine.

The light which is in everything is His.
It illuminates everything.

26. The word 'Sahas' is used here to convey an idea of an unlimited number, though literally it means a thousand.

Through the Guru's instruction that light becomes manifest.

What pleases Thee is the real *arti* O Lord !

My mind is longing for the Lord's lotus feet, as a bee for flowers. I feel thirsty day and night.

Give the water of Thy kindness to *sarang*²⁷ Nanak so that he may be absorbed in Thy name, O Lord.

Thus the Guru indicated that the true *Arti* of the Lord consisted in the Nature's manifestation in this universe instead of artificial things and that such *Arti* was ever going on. On hearing the hymn and its explanation the priests were wonder-struck and the head priest, Raja Krishan Lal, fell at the Guru's feet and paid him homage.

From there the Guru directed his course towards Khurad, Sauaragarh, Sabhagpur, Katak hills etc.

When the Guru was touring in the South of the Vindiachal mountains, no food could be procured for some days, Mardana therefore became angry and leaving the Guru there, returned homeward. When he had not yet gone far in the jungle, he was caught by the Bhil and Kirat, aboriginal savages inhabiting those regions. They made him over to one Kauda—a man-eater. Generally he used to put human creatures in an iron pan containing boiling oil and used to eat them when roasted. Mardana was handed over to him. He boiled the oil as usual and was going to put him into it, when the Guru appeared on the scene. On his appearance the oil cooled down. Seeing the majesty of the Guru, the cannibal stopped from prosecuting his design. Some conversation then took place between the Guru and the cannibal. The latter gave up man-eating for the future and became a true votary of the Lord God. Some hymns on this subject are to be found in the *Janam Sakhi*. Mardana again accompanied the Guru and was so terrified by this experience that he never dared to leave the Guru again as he had done on several occasions before, especially on account of hunger and coarse food.

The Guru visited Jabalpur, Chittarkut, Rima, Channe,

27. 'Sarang' is a bird known also as *Papiha*. It is supposed to drink from the drops of rain-water only and is, therefore, always looking for water.

Panna, Bhopal, Sagar, Chanderi, Bhartpur, Dhaulpur, Jind, Kaithal, Malerkotla and came back to Sultanpur in *Kartik* V.S. 1562 (November 1505 A.D.) and met his sister Nanaki there.

Nawab Daulat Khan (Chief of Sultanpur) paid him a visit. Other friends and followers of the Guru also came to see him and were pleased to hear the details of his travels. Mardana then went to Talwandi to see his own family. The Guru's parents and other relations came from Talwandi to Sultanpur to see him there.

SECOND TOUR

After three months' halt at Sultanpur the Guru, alongwith his companions Mardana and Bala, started again on a second tour in *Phagan* V.S. 1562 (March 1506 A.D.) Passing through Jaito, Bhatinda, Malwa and Bhatner he reached Sirsa in about one year and four months. At Sirsa he halted for quite some time to engage in religious discourses with Khwaja Abdul Shakur, Bahawal Haq, Jajal-ud-Din and other well known Muhammadan *Faqirs*.

From Sirsa the Guru went to Bikaner where he had a long religious discourse with the Jain mendicants of the *Dhundia* sect. He explained to them how dirty and filthy in habits they had become. All their dirty habits are detailed in *Rag Majh* in a long hymn, but we give here only the following verse as specimen :

ਸਿਰੁ ਖੋਹਾਇ ਪੀਅਹਿ ਮਲਵਾਣੀ ਜੂਠਾ ਮੰਗਿ ਮੰਗਿ ਖਾਹੀ॥
ਫੋਲਿ ਫਦੀਹਤਿ ਮੁਹਿ ਲੈਨਿ ਭੜਾਸਾ ਪਾਣੀ ਦੇਖਿ ਸਗਾਹੀ॥

Sir(u) khobāe pīaīh malvāṇī jūṭhā maṅg(i) maṅg(i) khāhī.
Phol(i) phadīhat(i) muh(i) lain(i) bharāsā pāṇī dekh(i)
sagāhī. (p. 149)

They have the hair of their head plucked out, drink filthy water and beg and eat other's leftovers.

They spread out their odour, inhale its smell and are shy to look at water.

This verse is only a specimen of the life and religious rites of the Jainas. They would eat the leftovers and drink dirty and filthy water collected from various houses and after attending to call of nature, they would stir their filth so that the worms

coming out from the stomach might escape alive from the filth-pile.

From Bikaner the Guru went through Marwar, Jaisalmer and Jodhpur to Ajmer. When at the shrine of Pir Qutab Din of Ajmer he saw a *Deg* (large cauldron) he observed :

ਬੋਲਹਿ ਕੂੜ ਪੜਯਾਵਹਿ ਲੋਇ ।
ਲੋਕ ਪਤੀਣੇ ਕਛੂ ਨਾ ਹੋਇ ।
ਪਾਖੰਡ ਕਰ ਕਰ ਜਨਮ ਗਵਾਇ ।
ਜਮ ਦਰ ਬਾਧੇ ਚੋਟਾਂ ਖਾਇ ।
ਨਾਨਕ ਜਾਂ ਗੁਰੂ ਪੂਰਾ ਪਾਇਆ ।
ਸਚੁ ਕਮਾਇ ਸਚ ਦਖਾਇਆ ।*

Boleh kūr paryāvaib loe.
Lok patīṇe kachhū nā hoe.
Pākhaṇḍ kar kar janam gavāe.
Jam dar bādhe choṭāṇ khāe.
Nānak jāṇ Gur(u) pūrā pāiā.
Sach(u) kamāe sach dakhāiā.

By speaking falsehood they satisfy the people,
By such satisfaction no good can be gained,
They waste their life in hypocrisy (and) shall be bound
and beaten at the door of the Yama (the angel of
death).

O Nanak, he who has got the perfect Guru, practises
righteousness himself and points out righteousness
to others.

On hearing this hymn *Pirs* Alla-ud-Din and Shamas-ud-Din and other custodians of the shrine came to the Guru and asked him the meanings thereof. He explained them adding that the deceased *Pir* Qutab-ud-Din had named the shrine *Dhāi din ka jhūfra* (2½ days halting place) whereas the magnificence of the building at so much outlay indicated that it was intended to last for ever.

ਜਿਨੀ ਚਲਣੁ ਜਾਣਿਆ ਸੇ ਕਿਉ ਕਰਹਿ ਵਿਥਾਰ ॥
ਚਲਣੁ ਸਾਰ ਨ ਜਾਣਨੀ ਕਾਜ ਸਵਾਰਣਹਾਰ ॥

Jinī chalaṇ(u) jāṇiā se kio kareh vithār.
Chalaṇ sār na jāṇanī kāj savāraṇhār.

(p. 787)

* This verse is not included in *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*.—Ed.

Those who know that they are to depart (die) why should they lay such extensive and lasting foundations. Those who do not think of their departure, consider themselves alone competent to accomplish worldly affairs.

Reciting this hymns in *Siri Rag*, the Guru added that the late *Khawaja* could pass his days in a hut of hay and there was no necessity to construct such a magnificent building if he really understood the purport of his assertion. And that, as his word did not correspond with his action, the proper conclusion was that his word was intended simply to dupe the people. At this the *Pirs* and their followers got enraged to which the Guru reacted in the following hymn :

ਨਫਸ ਸ਼ੈਤਾਨ, ਗੁਸਾ ਹਰਾਮ ਕਚੁ ਦੁਨੀਆ,
ਸਚੁ ਦਰਵੇਸ਼ ਅਦਲ ਬਾਦਸ਼ਾਹਾਂ ਫਜ਼ਲ ਫਕੀਰਾਂ।
ਮਜ਼ਲ ਮੁਸਾਫਰਾਂ, ਗ਼ਜ਼ਲ ਕਾਫ਼ਿਰਾਂ ਮਿਹਰ ਪੀਰਾਂ।
ਸਿਹਰ ਕੀਰਾਂ, ਫਕੀਰੀ ਸਬੂਰੀ, ਨ ਸਬੂਰੀ, ਤਾਂ ਮਕਰ।*

*Nāfas shaitān, gusā harām kach(u) duniā,
sach(u) darvesh adal bādshāhān fazal fakīrān.
Mazal musāfarān, gazal kāfirān, mihar pīrān.
Sibar kīrān, fakīrī sabūrī, na sabūrī tān makara.*

The lust is devil, wrath is forbidden, world is unreal. Truth is for a *darwesh*, justice for monarchs and mercy behoves a *faqir*.

A traveller must think of his goal. The faithless indulge in amatory songs. *Pirs* must be kind.

Magic is practised by the low, *faqir* must be contented and if not contented he is a hypocrite.

On hearing this and some other similar sermons, the *Pirs* and their disciples were all pacified and asked for pardon.

From Ajmer the Guru proceeded towards Pushkar Raj, Nasirabad, Devgarh, Lodipur, Daranagri, Abu hills, Pattan, Aidar, Ahmad Nagar, Banswara, Jaura, Mahdipur, Ujjain, Indore, Hushangabad, Maharashtra, Narsinghpur, Balaghat, Nagpur, Sevni, Raintek, Ankola, Amravati, Basnat, Hangoli, Bonda, Bidder, Baldana, Malapur, Hyderabad, Fatehabad, Rangar,

* This verse is not included in *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*—Ed.

Kelas, Eindank, Golkanda, Ganpur, At the last place he observed that Ganesh (the reputed son of Shiva with an elephant head) was the dominant deity there. The people were hanging his pictures on their necks and worshipped him as the creator almighty. The Guru recited some hymns in which he convinced them of their error. On hearing his sermons they abandoned the Ganesh worship and adopted that of the Creator. Leaving Ganpur the Guru journeyed southwards and through Madras, Arcot, Pondicherry, Sirirangapattan, Tanjaur, Trichnapally, Setbandrameshwar and Cape Comorin, reached Lanka (Ceylon). The Raja of Ceylon Shiv Nath was childless and supplicated the Guru for his blessing for a child. The latter composed the following hymn :

ਸਚੇ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਸਬ ਗੁਨ, ਔਗੁਣ ਸਭ ਅਸਾਂ ।

ਜੇ ਤਿਸ ਭਾਵੇ ਨਾਨਕਾ ਪੁਰੇ ਅਸ ਤੁਸਾਂ ॥*

Sache sāhib sab gun, auguṇ sabh asāṇ.

Je tis bhāve Nānaka pure as tusāṇ.

The true Lord has all merits, and we all demerits.

Nanak says if it pleases Him, he will fulfil your desire.

A few days after, the *Rani* (the Queen) also came to the Guru and asked for some *Jantar* (amulet) or *Mantar* (charm) through which she could command and subdue her husband. The Guru composed the following hymn :

ਨਿਵਣੁ ਸੁ ਅਖਰੁ ਖਵਣੁ ਗੁਣੁ ਜਿਹਬਾ ਮਣੀਆ ਮੰਤੁ ॥

ਏ ਤ੍ਰੈ ਭੈਣੇ ਵੇਸ ਕਰਿ ਤਾਂ ਵਸਿ ਆਵੀ ਕੰਤੁ ॥

Nivaṇ(u) su akhar(u) khavaṇ(u) guṇ(u) jibbā maṇīā maṇt(u).

E trai bhaiṇe ves kar(i) tāṇ vas(i) āvī kaṇt(u). (p. 1384)

Make humility thy amulet, obedience thy enchanted thread and a sweet tongue thy enamouring charm.

O sister ! If thou couldst possess these three merits, then couldst thou control thy husband.

The Raja was blessed by God with a son and a daughter. One Jhanda Badi (carpenter) was left by the Guru in Ceylon to preach the unity of God there. He remained there for some

* This verse is not included in *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*—Ed.

years and returned home during the time of Guru Angad. His descendants are now living in Patiala State.

The Guru spent one year in Ceylon and other Islands and then came back to India and through Malebar, Karnatak, Travencore, Kochin, Kottayam, Nilgiri Hills, Calicut, Mysore Ilaqa, Bangalore, Goa, Bombay-Presidency, Dharwar, Rajapur, Panchbatti, Gujarat Ilaqa in Rajputana, Baroda, Bharoch, Surat, Kathiawar, Bay of Kambat, Nimri, Gaigwar Ilaqa, he reached Junagarh in V.S. 1565 (1508 A.D.). He halted there for four months and then went to Girnar Hills and thence through Somnath he came to Sudamapuri where each and every individual had upon his neck a pendent depicting Shivling or Saligram (stone image) each weighing five seers or over. Observing this the Guru uttered the following hymn :

ਘਰ ਮਹਿ ਠਾਕੁਰੁ ਨਦਰਿ ਨ ਆਵੈ ॥
ਗਲ ਮਹਿ ਪਾਹਣੁ ਲੈ ਲਟਕਾਵੈ ॥
ਭਰਮੇ ਭੂਲਾ ਸਾਕਤੁ ਫਿਰਤਾ ॥
ਨੀਰੁ ਬਿਰੇਲੈ ਖਪਿ ਖਪਿ ਮਰਤਾ ॥
ਜਿਸੁ ਪਾਹਣੁ ਕਉ ਠਾਕੁਰੁ ਕਹਤਾ ॥
ਓਹੁ ਪਾਹਣੁ ਲੈ ਉਸ ਕਉ ਡੁਬਤਾ ॥
ਗੁਨਹਗਾਰ ਲੂਣ ਹਰਾਮੀ ॥
ਪਾਹਣੁ ਨਾਵ ਨ ਪਾਰਗਿਰਾਮੀ ॥
ਗੁਰ ਮਿਲਿ ਨਾਨਕ ਠਾਕੁਰੁ ਜਾਤਾ ॥
ਜਲਿ ਬਲਿ ਮਹੀਅਲਿ ਪੂਰਨ ਬਿਧਾਤਾ ॥

Ghar maib ṭhākūr(u) nadar(i) na āvai.

Gal maib pāhaṇ(u) lai laṭkāvai.

Bharṁe bhūlā sākat(u) phirtā.

Nīr(u) birolai khap(i) khap(i) martā.

Jis(u) pāhaṇ kau ṭhakūr(u) kahtā.

Ob(u) pāhaṇ(u) lai us kau ḍubṭā.

Gunahgār lūṇ harāmī.

Pāhaṇ nāv na pārgirāmī.

Gur mil(i) Nānak ṭhākūr(u) jātā.

Jal(i) thal(i) mahīal(i) pūran bidbātā.

(p. 739)

O Ye, the Lord, who is within your self, remains unobserved to you (and) ye hang stones on your necks,

O ye infidels ! Ye wander in ignorance.

Ye are unnecessarily toiling in churning water (for the sake of butter).

The very stone ye believe to be your lord, shall drown
its votary alongwith itself.

O ye sinful and perfidious ! The stone is not a boat
which can carry across a river.

Nanak says that Lord can be observed through the Guru
(spiritual guide).

That Lord is pervading all the waters, lands and
heavens.

The effect of the Guru's sermon was that they left stone-
worship and began that of the Almighty.

From Sudamapuri the Guru went to Gomti, Dawarka, Sankhtalai, Kachh, Mundre, Narain Sarovar, Kuteshvar, Amarkot, Ahmadpur, Khanpur, Bahawalpur, Shershab and Multan. At Multan he sat close to the river²⁸ and soon after his arrival there, the *Pirs* who resided at the place, sent him a brimful cup of milk. He returned it to them with some *patāshās* (puffed lumps of sugar) in it and a flower above it. Mardana urged that a thing like milk should not have been returned but should have been gladly accepted by him. The Guru replied that the *Pirs* had sent it not for use, but as a token of the fact that the town was already full of *Pirs* and *Faqir* just like the cup; and that there was no room for another religious teacher. The answer sent was that he will mix with them like the *patāshā* and would predominate over them like the flower placed upon the milk. Thereafter all the Hindu and Muhammadan *Faqirs* came to the Guru and their pride and arrogance were humbled on hearing hymns which were, as usual extemporised on the spot. All the visitors returned home fully satisfied and the Guru went to the village of Tulamba. There was a cheat named Sajjan, who asked Mardana an account of the Guru's travel. When he heard it, he inferred that the Guru must have collected a large amount of offerings which might be in the possession of Mardana. Therefore he inveigled Mardana to his own house, and bound him hand and feet. Thereafter confining him in a room he began to thrash him. At that very moment the Guru alongwith Bala arrived on the spot and informed the cheat he was liable to

28. The river has since changed its course and flows at some distance from the spot where the Guru had halted.

punishment for his offence. He fell at his feet and repented. The Guru then indicated the righteous path, which the cheat adopted for the future.

From Multan the Guru came to Talwandi and met his relations; especially his old friend Rai Bular, who had only a few more days to live. He was advised to prepare himself for his final departure, giving up all concern with this world. A short time after, the Guru again started and put up in a jungle on the bank of the Ravi river, where at the earnest request of the people, the village of Kartarpur was founded and the Guru's whole family including his sons lived there together for the first time. Houses for the dwelling of the Guru's family and a *Dharamsala* were also built.

THIRD TOUR

For a few years the Guru remained at Kartarpur and then in V.S. 1571 (1514 A.D.) he started on his mission again towards the northern regions. Bhai Bala and Mardana accompanied him as usual. He went to Kalanaur, Sujampur, Dasuha, Palampur, Kangra, Mandi, Rawalsar, Chamba, Nadaun, Kahlur, Ropar, Joharsar (close to Spatu Cantonment), Sirmur, Massuri, Uttar Kanshi, Garhwal *Ilaqa*, Shiwalik Hills, Gangotri or the source of the Ganges, Srinagar (Garhwal), Badrinath, Hemkunt, Saptasing etc. and other distant shrines in the Himalayas. When he reached the farthest shrine on the Himalayas leaving his companions behind, he proceeded alone to the highest peak of the mountain range. There appeared to him a great effulgence of light which exceeded thousands of suns, moons. In humble submission he paid his homage and worshipped the Almighty who directed him to prosecute and complete his mission. Then he retraced his steps and went southwards and visited Rani Khet, Almora, Kamaun, Nainital and Gorakh Matta which is close to Pili Bhit. Gorakh Matta was an institution of the *Jogis*, the followers of Gorakhnath. The Guru sat there under a *pipal* tree and began to utter a hymn, to the effect that Yoga or union with the Lord could not be obtained through different outward signs, such as the splitting of ears, the wearing of large ear-rings etc., but through fervent meditation, concentration of mind and separation from worldly things, while at the same

time it was necessary to mix with them merely to carry out the worldly affairs. After a long discussion the *Jogis* acknowledged the Guru's superiority and power. Since then the name of the place has been changed from Gorakh Matta to Nanak Matta.²⁹

On leaving that place, when the Guru had proceeded about 30 *kos* eastwards, a good many *Jogis* came round him in the jungle and demanded something to eat. It is a close jungle thickly studded with *Rīṭhā* trees (soapnut or *Sapindus Seponaria*) and there were no fruits to eat. The Guru was sitting under a *Rīṭhā* (soapnut) tree when the disputation took place. He told them to eat the *Rīṭhā* fruit and on tasting it they found it sweet and eatable. *Rīṭhā* is bitter to taste and unfit and injurious for human consumption. This tree alone is an exception to the whole species and yields sweet and eatable soapnut.³⁰

The *Jogis* were astonished to witness the change. The fruit of that tree still continues to be sweet and eatable like dry plums or *Ber*. There stands a shrine in memory of this occurrence and it is called *Rīṭhā Sahib*. The *Rīṭhā* fruit is brought by pilgrims as a holy fruit of the shrine.

Thereafter the Guru started for Kot Duar, Gorakhpur, Sitamari, Raniganj, Dhanmari, Shivpur, Brahukad, Dhaulgarh, Khatmandu (visited in *Phāgun* V.S. (1572 or 1516 A.D.) capital of Nepal, Lallatpatti, Tamlang in Sikkim, Bhutan, China,³¹ Tibbat, Iskardu,³² Rawanrud and Mansarovar lakes, Tashkand, Yarkand, Ladakh, Gilgit, Askardu, Sirinagar, Amarnath, Majal,

29. This institution has since been held by the followers of the Guru. Some time after that it was complained to the sixth Guru, Hargobind that the *Pipal* tree in reference was burnt down by the *Jogis* and they were encroaching upon the locality. The Guru went there, resuscitated the *Pipal* tree by sprinkling water mixed with *Kesar* (saffron) upon it. The leaves of the tree have still marks of *Kesar* thrown upon them by the sixth Guru in memory of the occasion, vide *Gurbilas of Sixth Guru*.

30. Some would attempt to rebut this spiritual power of the Guru asserting that the sweetness must be the effect of an engrafting process. This is quite absurd. The Guru was not then proceeding on a mission of engrafting trees. Moreover, it must be understood that engrafting can be effected on one kind or class of trees only by putting on them the sprouts of another, but there is no other sweet *Rīṭhā* in that neighbourhood which might have been used in engrafting the bitter one.

31. This time Guru appears to have travelled as far as Singapore Islands.

32. Since then there is a Dharmshala at Iskardu named after the name of the Guru.

Bhanal, Kishatwar, Bhardwah, Lasach, Pangru, Manmahesh hills, Dalhousi, Kullu, Mankot, Mansar, Baishnodevi, Riasi, Jammu, Bahu's fort, the temple of the Kali goddess, Parmandal, and then through the Kandi and Darp areas reached Kartarpur in *Maghar* V.S. 1573 (1516 A.D.) and met his parents and other relations there.

FOURTH TOUR

After a halt of about 15 months at Kartarpur the Guru started on his fourth journey on 9th *Phagan* V.S. 1574 (1518 A.D.) with Mardana. He proceeded through Charkhari, Darp, Wazirabad, Rohtas, Harnpur, Katas, Chakwal, Narasinghpohar, Kalabag, Sangar, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Nagah, Jampur, Hanad, Fazilpur, Miranpur Rori, Sakhar, Bhakhar, Shikarpur, Rukkan, Larkana, Amarkot, Haidrabad, Karachi Port, Bombay and reached Biddar in Hyderabad Dakhan. After a short stay there he went to Dwarka whence he, alongwith Mardana instantaneously reached Makka, in Arabia, by means of his spiritual power. He travelled for some time in different parts of Arabia and addressed the people in their own vernaculars. Wherever he went, he was called Nanak *Pir Vali*. He remained there for about a year. Many *Maulvis* and *Mullahs* met him and had long religious discussions, but none could rebut his arguments. On the night of his arrival at Makka, the Guru slept in a mosque there. In the morning the Guru was found sleeping with his legs stretched towards the sacred shrine. The sweeper of the shrine got angry. He kicked the Guru and shouted at him demanding why he had kept his feet towards the house of God.

The Guru said that he was a traveller and tired. At the same time he requested him that his legs might be dragged and placed in the direction wherein the house of God did not exist. The sweeper took hold of his feet angrily and began to move them towards the opposite direction. The shrine also began to move. As in all other cases, he had conducted himself thus in order to attract the attention of the priests. The news spread all around and all the *Maulvis* and *Qazis* came to the spot and Rukan-ud-Din, the chief *Qazi* began to question the Guru, whereupon a discourse ensued. This dialogue had been

separately recorded and was translated into Panjabi apparently in Gurmukhi characters by Guru Nanak himself on his return to this country, and is called *Makke Madine di Goshṭ*. A good many of its hymns or extracts therefrom are to be found incorporated in the Holy Granth and many of them are referred to and translated by us in Part II of this work.

As regards the Guru's visit to Makka, Syad Muhammad Latif, in his *History of the Punjab* says, "He (Guru Nanak) travelled over the whole of India, visited Persia, Kabul and other parts of Asia, and it is said even Makka. A story is related by both Hindus and Muhammadans in connection with Nanak's visit to Makka. It is said that while at Makka, Nanak was found sleeping with his feet towards the Kaba, before which the Muhammadans prostrate themselves while performing their devotions. The *Qazi* Rukan-ud-Din who observed this angrily remarked, 'Infidel, how dare you dishonour God's house by turning your feet towards it.' 'Turn them if you can,' replied Nanak, 'in a direction where the house of God is not.'"

From Makka he went to Madina, and when the rebeck was played by his companion Mardana, the Muhammadans objected to it and began to stone the Guru, but those stones remained stuck to their hands. Thereupon all the assailants apologised for their misbehaviour. The apology was accepted. There was a good deal of discussion at Madina between the Guru and the *Qazis* and *Maulvis*. This also was recorded and later on translated into Gurmukhi.

Leaving Madina, he went to Ajara, Mashhad, and thence to Baghdad in Turkey.³³ The Caliph of Baghdad at the time was a great tyrant and an extremely miser. During his short stay there, the Guru became very popular and numerous people began to assemble round him to hear his sermons. Hearing of his fame the Caliph also came to him one day. Seeing him from a distance, the Guru began to collect broken pieces of earthen pots which were lying scattered on the ground. When the Caliph saw it, he asked the reason of what the Guru was doing. The reply was that the *Faqirs* required them for use on their devotional bed in the next world, but as it was difficult to

33. Baghdad is situated in Iraq, not in Turkey.—Ed.

procure them there, he proposed to send them ahead. "How could they be sent there," asked the Caliph. "They could be transported there," replied the Guru, "just in the same manner as you mean to send your own treasures."

The Caliph understood the hint and asked for advice. The Guru then composed *Nasihāt Nama* (advice) which we omit here for want of space. When the Caliph heard the admonition, he began to disburse large amounts in charity. He was childless and had imprisoned hundreds of innocent *Faqirs*. The Guru said that if he released all of them, God would bless him with a son. Accordingly all *Faqirs* were released with handsome presents of gold. The Caliph requested the Guru to halt there for some time, which was agreed to. With God's grace the queen became pregnant and in due course of time became the mother of a son. The baby was brought before the Guru with various valuable and handsome presents, including a big silken robe *choga* (with various Arabic writings on it) which was specially prepared for the Guru. Moreover in memory of the Guru, the Caliph got constructed some mosque-shaped temples in Arabia, which as far as we have been able to ascertain are still maintained at the expense of the State.

The robe (*choga*) referred to above is a wonder and is still preserved at Dera Baba Nanak in the district of Gurdaspur in Punjab.

From Baghdad the Guru went to Halb Bakr and thence to Tehran and Isfahan in Persia. Thereafter he proceeded to the Russian territory and Turkistan. Then he went to Kokan, Tashkand, Khojand, Bukhara, Samarkand, Takhat Suleman, Mazar, Kabul, Hazara territory, Jalalabad, Basaul, Ali Masjid, Khaibar, Jamrud, Peshawar and Naushahra. On his return he reached Hassan Abdal, in the Attock District in *Bhadon* V.S. 1577 (1520 A.D.) and sat under a *pipal* tree at the foot of a hillock and halted there for some days. There was then a spring of water at the top of the hill occupied by Vali Qandhari a Muhammadan saint. Mardana used to get water from that spring. When the saint learnt that the Guru was acquiring more reputation than himself, he became jealous and forbade Mardana from taking water from his spring. The latter complained to the Guru, who observed that God would send water down to them.

It so happened that the spring occupied by the Muhammadan saint dried up and by God's will re-appeared at the spot occupied by Guru Nanak. The saint was then all wrath and hurled a big rock from the top of the hill down to the spot where the Guru was sitting. There is visible up to this time a slope from the top to the foot of the hill where the Guru is said to have been sitting at the time. The Guru stopped the rock with his open hand. An impression of his hand then made upon it is existing even now, surviving the efforts made during the Muhammadan period to erase it. The saint came to the Guru fell at his feet and asked for pardon, which was instantaneously granted. There now stands a handsome shrine by the spring which is called Panja Sahib. An annual fair is held here on the first of *Baisakh* every year. From Panja Sahib the Guru continued his journey through the tract now forming the districts of Rawalpindi, Jhelam, Gujrat and Sialkot and reached Emnabad in *Baisakh* V.S. 1578 (1521 A.D.).³⁴

At that time Babar was proceeding from Kabul to Lahore, but on account of an emergency at home he had to retrace his steps from Saidpur. On his way the ruler of Sialkot surrendered himself, but the Pathan grandees of Saidpur (which was closed to the present Emnabad in Gujranwala district) resisted, and the town under Babar's order was put to a wholesale massacre and plunder. According to Frishta, the massacre was very extensive and 30,000 (thirty thousand) inhabitants of both sexes were made captives. The Hindu leader who sided with the Pathans, was captured and beheaded. This massacre of Saidpur had been predicted by Guru Nanak at the time of his first tour when he halted at Emnabad in the house of Lalo (see page 76).

When the town was plundered, people were forced to carry the booty to the victor's camp. Amongst the carriers were

34. 1520 A.D. comes according to the Christian rendering of the Hijri era, whereas according to the Vikrami era it comes to 1521 A.D. The difference is very small, because it was the first month of the V.S., whereas there is no small difficulty in making the Hijri, which is lunar year, corresponding to the solar year. Generally authors differ in such calculations, and the difference of a few days would in the present instance, make a variation of one whole year, Farishta gives the date of Babar's attack on Saidpur as 926 Hijri with no month and English authors have given the year 1520 A.D.

included Guru Nanak and his companion Mardana. Guru Nanak was ordered to carry a burden on his head, while Mardana was made to lead a riderless horse. The Guru asked Mardana to play upon the Rebeck, and then sang a hymn,³⁵ in *Var Majh* relating to the vaunted power of the Pathans who were vanquished and beheaded as a body. In that hymn,³⁶ he explained that the Lord God was all powerful in every respect, and that it lay in His power to make meat-eaters eat grass and the grass-eaters to live upon meat, and in brief that He alone was competent to reverse all the state of affairs, empowering an insignificant (ant-like) person to annihilate a strong and powerful army. At the same time in *Rag Asa*, he explained what desolation was caused by the fighting of the Pathans with Babar.

After all this the Guru was admitted by Babar to an interview, and the latter was very much pleased with the conversation which he held with him. The emperor offered very rich and precious presents with *Jagirs*, but the Guru refused them all, observing that the reward of his toils was the inward pleasure derived from the worship of the Creator, and that the Lord alone could supply his wants, and that he had nothing to ask of the kings made by Him. Babar himself was a very good Arabic and Persian scholar as well as a poet. He held religious discourse with the Guru, who explained that millions of Muhammad like prophets were waiting upon the threshold of the Lord. While that discourse was going on, the Guru looked towards many thousands of female prisoners and in hymn in *Rag Asa*³⁷ explained the power of the Almighty and the nature of the grand drama by which the very same ladies who were married with so much pomp and show and who used to dress themselves so gaily and nicely, being so happy in their palaces, were subjected to so much pain, neglect and hardship in confinement.

It is said that the Emperor at the request of the Guru released the captives. It is also said that at this time Guru Nanak

35. The hymn begins with *Kahā su khel tabelā ghorē kahā bherī sabnāi*.
(ਕਹਾ ਸੁ ਖੇਲ ਤਬੇਲਾ ਘੋੜੇ ਕਹਾ ਭੇਰੀ ਸਹਨਾਈ॥) p. 417.

36. The hymn begins with *Sihā bājā chargā kuhā enā khwāle ghāb*.
(ਸੀਹਾ ਬਾਜਾ ਚਰਗਾ ਕੁਹੀਆ ਏਨਾ ਖਵਾਲੇ ਘਾਹ॥) p. 144.

37. The hymn begins with *Jin sir(i) soban(i) patīā māṅgī pāe saṇḍbur*.
(ਜਿਨਿ ਸਿਰਿ ਸੋਹਨਿ ਪਟੀਆ ਮਾਂਗੀ ਪਾਹਿ ਸੰਧੁਰ॥) p. 417.

blessed Babar that his dynasty was to reign over India for so many generations. From Saidpur the Guru came to Kartarpur and remained there for some time, making no distant journey of note. In *Kartik* V.S. 1579 (1522 A.D.) his mother and on 27th *Magh*, 1579 (1523 A.D.) his father Mehta Kalu died. In V.S. 1583 the Guru travelled through the tract termed *Majha* and came to Lahore. Then he went to Pakpattan and via Multan, Nurpur and Qandhar to Herat. After that he travelled back to the Panjab, and on his way at Kurram his old companion Mardana died. It is stated that Mardana's tomb is still there and his descendants are its custodians.

In V.S. 1586 (1529 A.D.) Guru Nanak visited a village named Achal in the Pargana of Batala and held long religious discourses with *Jogis* and *Sanyasis* who had assembled there on the Shivratri fair. His discourses with them called *Sidh Gosht* are found in the Holy Scripture.

In the month of *Chet* of that year, Guru Nanak, during the fair called *Mahabarni*, visited Hardwar. There, he saw the people standing in the Ganges with their faces eastwards, and bailing out water towards the sun in the belief that it would reach their ancestors in the heavens. The Guru also stood in the river and began to imitate them with his face towards the opposite direction, namely the West. The priests gathered around him and evidently considered him to be out of his senses. They indignantly asked him the meaning of his insane proceedings adding that all his exercise was in vain, because he could not expect to quench the thirst of the ancestors by such heretical actions. The reply was that he was irrigating his fields at Kartarpur in the *Pargana* of Lahore. The priests laughed at it and asked how could fields situated at a distance of so many hundreds of miles be irrigated? The Guru rejoined that the water would as soon reach there as it would reach their ancestors in the heavens. At this the priests were astonished and after a short discourse were convinced of the absurdity and uselessness of the ritual.

The Guru then visited the holy place named Kapal Mochan in *Kartik* V.S. 1587 (1530 A.D.).

Then Guru Nanak came to Chhintawali afterwards called Mansurpur. There was a gentleman who gave a charitable feast

to which the Brahmins and the poor were invited. The Guru was also one of the guests. Just at the time when the food was ready and the guests were about to eat, the wife of the host gave birth to a child. The Brahmins stopped eating and declared that according to the usual custom of the Hindus, impurity had pervaded the whole family owing to the birth, and that the food had been contaminated and rendered impure and unfit for use. The Guru then explained in *Rag Asa* that if impurity through births and deaths was to be recognised, it would be quite impossible for us to take our daily meals, because the water, the fuel and each and every grain of corn forming our food, contained the life of a living germ through whose death impurity was altogether unavoidable. He explained that the idea of impurity was falsehood, the desire of unlawful gains and slandering. The whole assembly including the Brahmins were convinced of the truth, and all partook of the food which was formerly refused by the Brahmins. The Guru after a short journey came back to Kartarpur and passed the remainder of his days there in contemplation and worship of the Lord God. He put off the garb of a *Faqir* and lived as the head of the family. His residence was a great rendezvous of people of all sects and nationalities from far and near. He exercised great influence over vast numbers, who looked upon him as their spiritual leader. He used to preach openly the universal brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God to people of all denominations and creeds without distinction. It had been once reported to Ibrahim Lodhi, the Emepror of Delhi, that he had acquired a great importance which might, in the end, prove serious threat to the State.³⁸ His expenses were on a grand scale, as he had established a public feeding-house where thousands of helpless and poor people were fed daily. Food was constantly distributed throughout the day and night.

Guru Nanak composed an extensive number of hymns. Generally they were all extemporised from time to time either at home or abroad during his travels as necessity arose. Wherever he went, the composition was generally in the vernacular of the people he addressed. For instance, when he

38. Syad Muhammad Latif.

addressed a Persian scholar or one whose mother tongue was Persian, he spoke in that language and when in Arabia, he used the Arabic language. He appears to have spent about two years in Arabia, of which one year was spent at Makka alone. Lengthy and considerable religious discourses went on with the priests (*Imāms*) both at Makka and Madina. Most of those dialogues were recorded on the spot and were subsequently translated into Persian by one Sayad Muhammad Gaus, a *Faqir*, who having got it rendered into the Panjabi language in the Katra character died in V.S. 1598 (1541 A.D.). It was eventually translated into Gurmukhi in 1667 V.S. (1610 A.D.). The old booklet is said to be still in existence and has been seen by Bhai Gian Singh, the author of *Tawarikh Guru Khalsa* vide page 145 of its Part I.

Thus Guru Nanak preached his mission of truth throughout the length and breadth of India and the most distant regions in Asia. At the age of 69 years, 10 months and 10 days, making Angad his successor, he breathed his last on *Asu Vadi* 10th V.S. 1596 (1539 A.D.). A dispute arose between Hindus and Muhammadans regarding the disposal of his body, each party claiming the right to perform the funeral obsequies according to the norm of their own respective religion. The Hindus wanted to cremate it, whereas the Muhammadans maintained that, being a Muhammadan, his remains should be buried according to Muslim rites. The parties would have fallen upon each other with swords drawn, had not some considerate and more thinking men intervened. When the parties approached the body, which was closed in a room pending the decision of the dispute, they, on raising the sheet with which it had been covered, found, to their great astonishment, that it not there. There were some flowers only left beneath it instead of the body. The sheet was divided in equal halves by the contending parties and disposed of according to their respective religious ceremonies. Two tombs were erected by the parties on the spot side by side. The village of Kartarpur was washed away by the waters of river Ravi in V.S. 1614 (1557 A.D.) but the tombs are still in existence on the right bank of the river. They are in the same building separated by a partition wall, and the room in which the sheet was buried by

Muhammadans, is now being used for reading the Holy Granth. Later on, the village of Dera Baba Nanak was founded by the descendants of the Guru on the left bank of the river Ravi within the boundary of Pakhoke. It still stands about 3 miles to the east of Kartarpur.

The soundness and force of the persuasive eloquence of Guru Nanak's preaching may be gathered from the fact that in remote and foreign countries, where the people professed different and antagonistic religions, spoke different languages, had different manners and savage and barbarous customs, the congregations, even during his short visit, bowed before him in humble submission and adopted his faith, abandoning the old and deep rooted faith of their forefathers. In honour and memory of his visits, Dharmsalas or Temples were built in distant and foreign countries, which exist upto this day. We have abstained from detailing them for want of space. A careful inquiry in the countires visited by him will disclose facts of much greater interest to the readers than any hitherto known to us. He sowed the seed of truth in distant and foreign countries, and it is sure to develop with the development of Sikhism in the future.

Guru Nanak invented the Gurmukhi characters by simplifying the more difficult and complex Sanskrit characters, adapting them to the needs of the time. Beginners can learn them much more easily than any other alphabet. These characters were largely introduced among the Sikh community during the time of Guru Angad, and, therefore, many have erroneously considered that he was the inventor of them.

The Holy Granth of the Sikhs is in Gurmukhi script.

CHAPTER II

GURU ANGAD

Guru Angad was born on the 11th of *Baisakh*, V.S. 1561 (1504 A.D.) at Sarai Matte Ki (now called Sarai Naga) close to Mukatsar in the Ferozepur District. He was a Khatri of the the Trehan sub-caste and his birth name was Laihna. Before he gained apostleship he had two sons Dasu and Datu, and two daughters.

His father was a worshipper of goddess Jawala of the Hindu pantheon, and used to visit her temple (in the Kangra hills) every year, travelling on foot. He died in V.S. 1583 (1526 A.D.). After his death Laihna, his son, followed the faith of his father and regularly paid annual visits to that temple. He heard a good deal about divinity of Guru Nanak, and in V.S. 1589 (1532 A.D.) when on his way to the temple of the goddess, he resolved to pay his respects to Guru Nanak at Kartarpur. When he came close to Kartarpur, he met the Guru who was alone, returning home from his fields, but, not having seen him before, he did not recognise him. Therefore he did not, out of civility and reverence alight from his pony as he would have done and passed without paying any attention to the Guru. However, when he waited upon him at home, Laihna was much ashamed of his conduct, but did not show any outward expression of it. The Guru, however, accosted him and said, "Bhai Laihna, you are a creditor and I am your debtor" (*Tain lainā hai, assān denā hai*). Immediately after his contact with Guru Nanak, Laihna abandoned his idea of his pilgrimage to Jawala ji temple and declared his intention of doing so to the great disappointment of his fellow pilgrims, who had accompanied him. The Guru put him to various tests and always found him true and faithful. He proved himself worthy of

succeeding to the office of Guru. Therefore in preference to his sons and all other disciples, Guru Nanak, in *Maghar* V.S. 1594 (1537 A.D.)¹ declared him to be his successor, naming him Angad, or a part of his own body. He was seated on the apostolic seat (*Gaddi*) and then the Guru, placing before him 5 pice and a coconut, bowed before him and went around him 4 times. He then said that his own spirit has now been transferred into his successor's body who from that moment should be regarded as Nanak himself. It is now an article of faith with the Sikhs that the spiritual light of Guru Nanak was inherited by each successive Guru. Bhai Buddha² was asked to affix *tilak*³ on his forehead or anoint him. Therefore the whole congregation bowed before Angad as their Guru. Guru Nanak's sons as might naturally be expected, became envious and resented the succession. The Guru therefore told Angad to reside at Khadur, where he made himself widely known on account of his fervent devotion to the Almighty. Guru Nanak went over there and stayed with him for some time in order to impart him the necessary tuition.

In compliance with the orders of Guru Angad, one Paira Mokha,⁴ Khatri of Sultanpur, drew up in *Baisakh* V.S. 1597 (1540 A.D.) an account of Guru Nanak's travels at the dictation of Bhai Bala.⁵ This book is called *Janam Sakhi* (life story) or biography and has unfortunately been destroyed by the enemies of Sikhism as explained in the introduction of this book.

Guru Angad was strongly attached to Guru Nanak and was his most fervent servant. He closely followed the alignment

1. Most historians place his demise in 1539—Ed.

2. Bhai Buddha belonged to a peasant family. While still very young, he came to Guru Nanak and referring to the cutting of green and unripe crops by the troops of Babar; said that he was afraid that like those crops he might be untimely carried away by the angel of death. The Guru then said, "O boy, thou art old (Buddha) not young." Since that time he was named Bhai Buddha. Before his death he was ever present when any of the first five successors of Guru Nanak were enthroned or installed to the office of Guruship. He died on 14 *Maghar*, V.S. 1687 (1630 A.D.)

3. A ceremonial coronation mark on the forehead.

4. Paira Mokha was a resident of Sultanpur where Guru Nanak had lived for many years in the service of the Nawab there, (footnote at page 19).

5. Bhai Bala was a Sandhu Jat of Talwandi.

marked out by his predecessor. He was always true to the principles of his great teacher. He used to earn his livelihood by his own manual labour, by twisting *vāṇ* or coarse twine made of *Munj*. He was always busy in meditation, and maintained an extensive home in which he provided food for persons of all denominations and creeds. He recorded the results of his own devotional observations and tried his utmost to carry out the mission he was charged with. He lived as Guru for 12 years, 9 months and 6 days and died at Khadur in *Chet* V.S. 1609 (1553 A.D.).

When in 1540 A.D. Emperor Humayun, being disastrously defeated by Sher Shah Suri, near Kanauij, came to the Punjab, he recollected the prophecy of Guru Nanak, and paid a visit to Guru Angad at Khadur. The Guru was then deeply absorbed in contemplation and took no notice of the Emperor's presence. Thereupon the Emperor grew angry and drawing his sword, was about to strike at the Guru when the latter said, "O Humayun, where was this sword of yours when Sher Shah was fighting you?" Humayun apologised for what he was going to do and humbly submitted that he had heard from his father that Guru Nanak had predicted their unmolested reign in India to last for 7 generations and that the prophecy now seems to be proving untrue. The Guru replied that the word of his predecessor was infallible, and referring to Guru Nanak's hymn in which he had said at Saidpur that *Mughals* shall come in V.S. 1578 (1521 A.D.) and retire in V.S. 1597 (1540 A.D.), explained that after a short interval the Emperor was sure to regain the sovereignty of India.

CHAPTER III

GURU AMAR DAS

Guru Amar Das was a Khatri of Bhalla sub-caste and was born at Basarke in the Pargana of Patti in V.S. 1536 (1479 A.D.). He had two sons, Mohan and Mohari and two daughters Bibi Sulakhani known as Dani, and Bibi Bhani.

He was a man of humble parentage and supported himself by the hire of a pony which he used for conveying goods from place to place. He was fond of the society of *faqirs* and was ever in search of a competent spiritual guide. By faith he was a *Vaishnav*, and spiritual desire being kindled in him on hearing the recitation of certain hymns of the Guru, he, at the age of 62, came to Khadur and adopted Guru Angad as his spiritual guide. At such a late age he became a fervent and zealous votary and an ardent devotee of the Guru. He served him with all his heart and sacrificed his own comfort for the sake of the Guru. He undertook to fetch fresh water for the Guru's morning ablutions every night at about midnight, from the river Beas, which was about four miles from Khadur. He performed his duty without fail, whatever the conditions of weather. After the Guru had bathed, he used to go to jungle to fetch fuel for the kitchen (*langar*). While performing these and similar other duties he was constantly repeating in his mind the name of the Lord.

His reverence for the Guru was so great that he never turned his back towards him or his house. During his midnight journey to the river he used to walk backwards keeping, on all occasions, his face towards the house of the Guru. Although he did so much, yet he would never make even the least mention of his services, nor would he eat anything from the Guru's kitchen, supporting himself by the small and scanty

earnings of his trade in grocery. The Guru noticing his fervour and devotion, liked him much and for the sake of assaying him, he would, at times, put him to the test.

On a dark tempestuous night in the midst of rain, thunder and lightning, when Amar Das was returning with water from the river, he accidentally tumbled over by striking against a *karir* peg¹ close to a weaver's house, and fell into a weaver's loom pit (*khaddi*), which he managed to get out of without assistance, with the pitcher full of water remaining intact on his head. The weaver hearing the noise inferred that some one must have fallen into the pit, and said to his wife, "What miserable scoundrel can that be roving about at this time of the night?" "It must be," she replied, "that wretched homeless Amru who serves the Guru for the sake of a loaf of bread." The Guru was already convinced of his disciple's devotion and sincerity and on hearing what had happened the preceding night, he, on the 1st *Magh* 1609 V.S. (1533 A.D.) in the presence of the whole congregation said, "Amru is not homeless, but the home for the homeless, stronghold of the defenseless, shelter for the shelterless, strength for the weaklings support for the supportless, friend for the friendless and prop to the world and its faith." He was forthwith declared to be the successor of Guru Angad, who bowed down before him, and then presenting 5 pice and a coconut, walked around him four times as was done by Guru Nanak on the appointment of his successor.

After his installation in the office of Guru, it was considered advisable that Guru Amar Das should reside at Goindwal where he established his head-quarters after the death of Guru Angad. One of the two sons of Guru Angad, Datu proclaimed himself as Guru at Khadur. But the Sikhs did not recognise him as such. He became jealous of the fame of Guru Amar Das, attacked him and kicked him out of the apostolic seat at Goindwal. The Guru apologised for the pain his feet might have suffered in kicking him and retired to a lonely place where he concealed himself. He was, however, found out with difficulty by the Sikhs who deserted Datu in contempt. The

1. The Guru said afterward that that peg should turn into a green tree. It became a green tree accordingly and is still preserved in the temple at Khadur in the Amritsar District, in memory of the occasion.

Guru was successful as a teacher. His zeal and activity in preaching, combined with his genial habits and affable disposition, secured many converts to the new faith. He was a just and wise Guru, humble and patient. He extensively propagated the mission of Guru Nanak and composed many hymns which are much liked for their simplicity of diction and sublimity of thought. He organised and maintained a public kitchen (*langar*) on a very extensive scale. It was open to all creeds and classes. Members of all the four classes, i.e. Brahmans, Khatris, Vaisas and Sudras were, contrary to the old conservative practice, required to take common food simultaneously at the same place and the level of ground with no distinction whatever. The whole income from offerings was daily spent in the kitchen. None could question whether the food was prepared by a Brahman or a low caste Sikh. The Guru had issued an edict that nobody would be granted an audience unless he had partaken of the food cooked in the kitchen. When the Raja of Haripur (in the Kangra District), came to the Guru, he was allowed to behold him on the condition that he would do so after he had eaten from his kitchen, which was agreed to.

The old standing Hindu prejudices of all sorts were done away with and the procedures of marriage and death ceremonies were framed afresh. Visiting the Hindu festivals and pilgrimages as well as the Hindu and Muhammadan shrines was prohibited. All this offended the Brahmans and the so-called high caste Hindus, who, in consequence convened a large assembly through which they complained to the Emperor against the Guru so that the latter might be authoritatively required to stop his preachings. But they were baffled in their attempt, as on hearing the religious views of the Guru, the Emperor appreciated the Sikh religion and refused to interfere with it.

Once Emperor Akbar came to pay the Guru a visit. He also partook of the food prepared in the kitchen and was so highly pleased with it that he offered 12 villages in *Jagir* for its maintenance. However, the Guru declined to accept the offer explaining that God himself was maintaining it and no royal grant was needed. But the Emperor persisted on the ground that he considered the Guru's daughter, Bibi Bhani, as his own

and wanted to present those villages to her. Observing his eagerness and the sincerity with which it was being made, the Guru accepted the offer.

The Emperor also presented 500 gold *mohars* to the Guru on his visit. The Guru ordered that they should, at once, be distributed to the *faqirs* and the poor who had assembled on the occasion. The Emperor got surprised at this.

On an occasion, the Sikhs asked the Guru what were the attributes of a true Sikh. The reply was that as a *sippi* (mother of pearl) on getting a drop of rain becomes satiated and goes down to the bottom to produce a pearl, so should a Sikh, on *Gurmantar* (or the Lord's name to be repeated) being imparted to him, become satiated and contented. He should constantly repeat the name of the Lord. The world and its wealth should also be considered that of the Lord. Alike in prosperity and in distress, no god or goddess, tomb, burning ground (*Samādhī*), vault or the like should be revered or supplicated, except the one Lord God who should be considered as competent alone to do anything and should ever be implicitly relied and depended upon.

Guru Amar Das built at Goindwal a *baoli*, a large oblong well, the descent to the brink of which is reached by 84 steps with landing places and covered chambers for travellers to rest in and take refreshment during the heat of the day. It is a common belief among the Sikhs that whoever bathes on these eighty-four steps one by one on the same day, repeating the *Japuji* with a true and sincere heart to the last step, shall be absolved of eighty-four lakhs of transmigratory forms and shall go to heaven directly.² Two fairs are held here in a year, one in *Baisakh* and another in *Bhadon*, to which the Sikhs flock from all directions. Emperor Akbar had assigned 48 villages for the maintenance of this *baoli*.

Guru Amar Das deputed 22 of his chosen disciples to the different parts of the country in order to preach the religion of Guru Nanak. He himself went several times to the Ganges and other holy places to preach the doctrine of his predecessors. Having accomplished his part in the great

2. This is a Hindu belief which the Sikh religious system does not subscribe to.

religious drama he, at the age of 95 years 4, month and 1 day, breathed his last at Goindwal in *Bhadon* V.S. 1631 (1574 A.D.). He began to serve Guru Angad at the age of 62; served him for 12 years and remained Guru for 21 years. Bhai Jetha ji who got the name, Guru Ram Das succeeded him as the fourth Guru, as will be explained in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER IV

GURU RAM DAS

The fourth Guru¹ was a Sodhi Khatri and was born at Chuna Mandi in the town of Lahore in *Kartik*, V.S. 1591 (1534 A.D.). He was a very handsome and promising youth with a fair complexion. When he was about 7 years of age his father died. Thereafter the family fell into straitened circumstances. When he reached youth he began to earn his bread by hawking boiled pulse and other eatables. Although so poor, he even then used to give away one-fourth of his earnings in charity. In V.S. 1601 he alongwith numerous pilgrims, went to Goindwal where Guru Amar Das was. He resumed his profession there and took to hawking provisions. One day the Guru was about to depute a matrimony agent to find out a match for his daughter, Bibi Bhani, when Ram Das passed through the street hawking as usual. At that juncture Lady Amar Das directed the agent's attention towards Ram Das with the remark that she wanted a son-in-law very much like him. At this the Guru said, "Let him be the real son-in-law." Thereon Ram Das was sent for and betrothed and the marriage took place on 22nd *Phagun* V.S. 1610 (1554 A.D.). A separate house was built for him at Goindwal. He had three sons, Prithi Chand, Mahadeo and (Guru) Arjan Dev.

Guru Amar Das found Ram Das capable and in every respect worthy of the office of Guru and therefore in supersession of his own sons, appointed him to that office in *Bhadon*, V.S. 1631 (1574 A.D.). The residence of Guru Ram Das was shifted to the village of Ramdaspur (since called Amritsar) which was founded in *Har*, V.S. 1627 (1570 A.D.).

Guru Ram Das was a man of considerable merit and of

1. His name before Guruship was Bhai Jetha, which means first born.—Ed.

a quiet and peaceful disposition. He became famous for his piety, devotion, energy and eloquence. He devoted himself to literary pursuits and expounded his doctrines in beautiful and attractive hymns. He was very liberal-minded. It is said that one Lal Chand, a merchant of Lahore, presented him with a precious necklace of pearls. A *faqir* was standing close by at the time and was asking for alms. The Guru gave away the necklace to him.

Emperor Akbar on his return from Kabul came to pay him a visit and presented 101 gold *mohars* to the Guru. The latter distributed them to the poor on the spot. The Emperor was highly pleased with his accomplishments, and as a mark of esteem and approbation, offered a *Jagir* of 12 villages in the Parganah of Jhubal, but it was politely refused, with the remark that such grants were sure to create evils of all sorts.

In an interview at Lahore he represented to the Emperor Akbar, that the price of food would fall considerably and the *raiyat* (populace) would suffer in consequence. Therefore he begged His Majesty to remit a year's revenue to the poor *raiyat*. The Emperor granted this request and was strongly impressed with the Guru's sympathy for the poor. There is no doubt that the representation was prompted by purely charitable and unselfish motives and the success which attended it, as can naturally be imagined, this greatly increased the popularity of the Guru among the agricultural classes who gathered around him from all directions and considerably contributed to his power and fame. He was termed by the people *Sacha Padshah* or the True King.

Ram Das splendidly restored at Ramdaspur, an old tank which he named *Amritsar* or the tank of nectar or *Immortality*. In its centre, he built a magnificent temple which he called *Harmandar*² or the temple of Hari (the Lord pervading the universe). He also changed the name of the town from Ramdaspur to Amritsar, after the name of the tank.

Guru Ram Das played a considerable part in promoting

2. Most historians are of the view, that the abode of Lord (*Harimandir*) was built in the centre of the *Sarovar* (tank) by his son Arjun after he succeeded him to Guruship. See Teja Singh Ganda Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, p. 27 (P.U.P., 1989)—Ed.

the faith of Guru Nanak. Brotherly love was not only inculcated but infused by him in the Sikhs. In founding the town of Amritsar at the most convenient and fertile centre, he laid deep the foundation of the future greatness of the Sikhs as a nation. They were now enabled to gather at a common place of worship so well situated. The Sikhs who were peaceful in mind and gentle in behaviour, followed yet the simple and pure tenets prescribed by the founder of their faith, and now they learnt to unite together and foster and engender those feelings of brotherly love which eventually strengthened the national tie and paved the way for the formation of a commonwealth on the true patriotic principles.

Nominating Arjan Dev, the youngest son, as his successor, Guru Ram Das departed at the age of 47 years at Goindwal on 3rd day of the light half of the month *Sawan*, V.S. 1638 (1581 A.D.). He remained the Guru for 6 years, 11 months and 16 days.

CHAPTER V

GURU ARJAN DEV

Guru Ram Das, the fourth Guru had three sons; Prithi Chand, who was born on 1st *Assu*, V.S. 1614 (1557 A.D.); Mahadeo, born on 4th *Har*, V.S. 1617 (1560 A.D.) and; Arjan Dev, born on 18th *Baisakh*, V.S. 1620 (1563 A.D.). The eldest, Prithi Chand was passed over for disobedience and his lust for material gains. The Guru, his father, termed him a *mīnā* or a villain, excommunicated him and ordered the Sikhs not to obey him or associate with him. The second son was always engaged in deep meditation, ever shunned social responsibilities and preferred retirement. Therefore he was considered unfit as a spiritual leader. The youngest, Arjan Dev, was capable in all respects and was therefore installed in the office of Guru on 21st *Baisakh* V.S. 1638 (1581 A.D.) at Amritsar.

As soon as he assumed responsibilities as a Guru, Guru Arjan Dev established himself at Amritsar, and made it a great centre which would attract large congregations of his followers. By their worldly longings and spiritual hopes, he undertook a grand reformation. He played the most prominent part in pushing ahead the faith of the Sikh Gurus. He laid aside the rosary and garb of a *faqir* and dressed himself in costly attire. He maintained a large retinue of fine horses and elephants. He was very energetic and aspiring. The Sikhs were organized into a community and measures were adopted for extending his own spiritual authority. A system of collection of tithes or one-tenth of net income of each devotee was devised and collectors called *Masands*, with their deputies termed *Mevras*, were appointed for its collection throughout the country. This plan instituted for the Sikhs a regular system of government, which they eventually acquired for themselves. Disciples were also sent out

for purposes of trade and to propagate the faith in foreign countries like Turkistan on missionary work. Sikhism expanded during this time to far off places like Kabul, Kandhar, Sindh, Pothohar, Malwa and practically all over India.

Guru Arjan completed the grand and most sacred tank and temple at Amritsar which were taken in hand by his deceased father. He also got excavated many more tanks at Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Kartarpur¹ and other places. Several more magnificent buildings were also constructed and in *Baisakh* V.S. 1647 (1590 A.D.), he founded the town of Tarn Taran in the Amritsar District.

The excavation of Amritsar sacred tank was begun in V.S. 1633 (1576 A.D.) by Guru Ram Das. The foundation stone of Harmandir was laid on 1st *Magh* V.S. 1645 (about the middle of January 1589 A.D.). When Guru Arjan was going to lay down the foundation stone, the famous *faqir* Mian Mir, who was a great friend of the Guru, happened to arrive there to see him. Out of respect the Guru asked him to lay the foundation stone, but by an oversight it was wrongly laid and the mason taking it out placed it correctly. The Guru is said to have uttered the prophecy on the occasion, that the temple was destined to fall down and be rebuilt again. This assertion was fulfilled in V.S. 1818 (1761 A.D.) when it was blown up with gunpowder by Ahmad Shah Durrani. It was rebuilt by Buddha Dal of the Khalsa Panth and its foundation stone was at the request of that Dal and with the general concurrence of the Khalsa, laid by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, on 11th *Baisakh* V.S. 1821 (1764 A.D.).

When the magnificent tank of Tarn Taran was being constructed, kilns were started in V.S. 1653 (1596 A.D.) to prepare bricks. The bricks when readied were forcibly taken away by Amir Din, the son of Nawab Nur-ud-Din, and used in building his own houses and a *sarai*. The Sikhs were very angry and complained to the Guru about it. He pacified them with the remark that they need not be uneasy about it and that a time would come when those very bricks would be used for the construction of the tank for which they were baked. In V.S. 1832 (1775 A.D.) those buildings were demolished by the

1. Kartarpur, a town in Jalandhar was founded by Guru Arjan, but there is no tank at this place.—Ed.

Singhs and the bricks were used in the masonry work of that tank.

Some time after Arjan Dev became the Guru, he began to consider the necessity of a religious code and formulae of the laudation of the Lord for daily prayer by the Sikhs. He endeavoured to raise the followers of the great Guru Nanak in the social scale and to unite as also bind them by a common religious tie. He compiled a holy scripture in V.S. 1761 (1604 A.D.) and named it Granth Sahib, which is held in the greatest veneration, and after the death of Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth and last Guru, it was bestowed the dignity of the Sikhs' Spiritual Leader. It was termed 'Guru Granth Sahib' (see Introduction). In this scripture; Guru Arjan incorporated most of the hymns of Guru Nanak and almost all the compositions of his three successors. He himself contributed to it very extensively and added the choicest hymns of the reformers of other religions, Hindus and Muhammadans and even low castes in order to show that the Sikh Gurus recognised no religion except purity of mind, good deeds and devotion to the Almighty. Whatever it contains was pure and binding on all believers of Sikh religious system. It was kept in the holy temple at Amritsar and recited each day to the congregation. Hymns were constantly sung in praise of the Lord by bands of musicians and the incidents of the life of Guru Nanak were repeated with great fervour. The Holy Granth took the place of various Puranic citations which were formerly repeated on the occasion of Hindu marriages and deaths. Thus the Sikhs took a further and firmer step in their social life and standing, which practically emancipated them from the Brahmanical spell, if any was yet left. The public kitchen (*langar*) which had been established long before by Guru Arjan's predecessors, was maintained on a much larger scale than before and congregations from distant places and countries daily waited upon him. He always rose very early in the morning and, with the exception of a little rest during the night, he was ever engaged in devotion or service of the Sikhs.

He spent a good deal of his time in travels in the Panjab in preaching his mission. He occasionally visited Lahore. Many Hindus and Muhammadan *faqirs* used to have religious

discourses with him. Once Husain Khan the governor of Lahore, along with many of his officials, came to him and was much pleased by what he saw and heard of him and expressed his desire to render the Guru some service. He was told to construct a *Baoli* (a well with steps up to water level), which he duly did in V.S. 1651 (1594 A.D.). It exists up to this day close to the Dabbi Bazar in Lahore and is called Guru Arjan's *Baoli*.²

Prithi Chand, the eldest brother of Guru Arjan, resented the Guru's succession on account of his own supersession. As long as he lived he greatly molested the Guru and tried his best to oust him from the Guruship and brought various law suits against him. He was, however, always unsuccessful. He also made several unsuccessful attempts to take the life of the young and only son of the Guru, named Hargobind. The Guru on his part was ever conciliatory and tried his utmost to effect reconciliation but in vain. After all, tired and ashamed of his baneful attempts against the Guru, he died in *Magh* V.S. 1662 (1606 A.D.).

Besides Prithi Chand, the Guru had another enemy in Chandu Lal a financier (Diwan) of the Emperor Akbar. He wanted a match for his daughter. According to the old Hindu custom, he sent his emissaries to find out one, and they chose Guru Arjan's son Hargobind. Without giving any intimation of the fact to the Guru, they told the Diwan of their selection. He agreed, but when despatching the *chhobārā* (customary dried dates with presents in cash) he made some disparaging remarks comparing the Guru to a drain and himself to the upper storey. By this he meant that he was going to give the hand of his daughter to a person who was much lower in social status than himself. The Sikhs communicated these slighting remarks to the Guru with a request that the betrothal should be refused. It was refused accordingly and the betrothal presents returned. Therefore Chandu Lal became an enemy of the Guru.

In *Assu* V.S. 1662 (1605 A.D.) Emperor Akbar came to Batala in the present District of Gurdaspur. Chandu Lal then

2. The shrine was destroyed in 1947 A.D. in consequence of anti-Sikh riots that erupted in the wake of creation of Pakistan. Only a memorial arch has been erected on the site of the *baoli* with a plaque thereon, with an inscription testifying the existence of this shrine.—Ed.

informed him of the compilation of the Holy Granth, adding that the Muhammadan faith and its Prophet were slighted and slandered therein. Akbar sent for the Holy Granth, which was accordingly, under escort of some Sikhs, forwarded to Batala. On arrival there it was opened at random in the presence of Akbar, and its reading pleased him much. But the invidious Diwan remarked that the selection of passages was marked out beforehand to serve the occasion. Then another page was turned which delighted the Emperor and his courtiers including the *Qazis*. At this the Diwan was greatly ashamed and wickedly told the Emperor that it allowed and lauded idolatry and that for its proper exposition the reader should be one who was not a Sikh. The Scripture was then opened a third time and a reader was produced by the Diwan himself. All assertions of the Diwan, however, proved to be wrong and the Emperor finding nothing amiss in it, praised it and honoured it with the presentation of 51 gold *Mohars*, and sent off its escort with robes of state, adding that he would also personally call upon the Guru. A few days after that he paid him a visit and during his interview praised and admired the Holy Scripture, adding that it was destined to do much good to the people. He then inspected the *Langar* arrangements and in honour and approbation thereof offered some land grants, which owing to the earnest request of the Emperor, were accepted by the Guru. At that time the Panjab was suffering from famine and, at the suggestion of the Guru, the land revenue was remitted and relief was granted to the sufferers by the issue of grain from the Imperial granaries. By this suggestion the Emperor was highly pleased and it contributed a great deal to the increase of the Guru's fame.

A few months after this, the Guru anticipated his future troubles and declared that his only son would succeed him. Shortly after the interview referred to above, Akbar died at Agra in October 1605 A.D. and was succeeded by his favourite son, Salim, under title of Jahangir "Conqueror of the world". Prince Khusro, the eldest son of Jahangir, had for some time past, been on bad terms with his father. On Jahangir's accession the breach became much wider, and in March 1606, the young prince left Agra for Kabul in open rebellion. On his way he visited Tarn Taran where Guru Arjan then was, and repeatedly in

humbleness, requested pecuniary aid with the promise of repaying it on his arrival at Lahore. The Guru, for various considerations such as previous acquaintance with the Prince, his helping the Guru in habitation of certain villages, his relationship with the deceased Emperor and so on, lent him Rs. 5000 for travelling expenses. The Emperor, who was closely pursuing him, conclusively defeated him in the vicinity of Lahore and compelled him to fly Westwards in the hope of reaching Kabul. The ferryboat in which he was crossing the Chenab by night, ran on a sandbank and he was arrested by the King's Officers. He spent his life in prison and his companions suffered cruel death.

Diwan Chandu Lal was, at this time, according to Sayad Muhammad Latif, Finance Minister at Lahore. Hearing of the money lent by the Guru to Prince Khusro, he proposed to avail himself of the opportunity and complained to the Emperor against the Guru's conduct and insinuated that if the pursuit of the Prince had not been so close, he might have helped him with an army too. Thereupon the Guru was sent for and on his arrival at Lahore, the Emperor received him with marks of due respect and honour. The very look of the Guru softened and cleared the Emperor's mind of the suspicion which had been roused against him. During the interview Chandu Lal was present and renewed his complaint. Then the Emperor addressed the Guru, "Since as a *Pir* and *Faqir*, you are alike to all, you should not have rendered any aid to the King's enemy Khusro." The Guru replied, "I, of course, am successor of Guru Nanak; high and low as well as all religions are equal to me without any distinction at all; and therefore whatever has been paid to the Prince was on account of his humble request and I had no intention to help the King's enemy." On this the Emperor asked the Guru to pay a fine. Thereupon the Guru represented that he was a *faqir* and whatever he had, had come to him through offerings and it was public property to which only the poor and the *faqirs* were entitled and that *faqirs* were not supposed to pay fines out of it. He added that if His Majesty was in need of any pecuniary help he was quite prepared to render it as in the case of the Prince, but as a fine, he was not prepared to pay a single farthing. The Emperor returned

no answer to this and closed the court. The court Jamadar, however, according to the previous orders of the Emperor announced the fine of Rs. 100,000. The Guru was sent to Kotwali and the Emperor left for Kabul the next morning.

When the Sikhs of Lahore heard of the imposition of the fine, they proposed to pay it by raising subscriptions, but the Guru restrained them from so doing with the remarks that it did not behove the *faqirs* to pay fines and penalties and emphasized there remarks with the declaration that any attempt to the contrary would be punished with excommunication. The proposal was dropped.

When the Guru reached Kotwali, Chandu Lal appeared on the stage and on the pretence of serving the Guru, he stood for his surety and brought him to his own house. There he insisted upon his accepting the betrothal which had already been refused with a promise of a very large dowry, but the Guru declared that his words were engraved on stone, and could not be effaced and that even if the whole world were given as dowry, the Guru's son would not marry his daughter. Thereon Chandu Lal threatened him with the most cruel treatment. The Guru replied that fate could not be averted, and expressed his willingness to suffer it. Thereafter the Guru was treated with the utmost cruelty and marks of violence were visible on his whole body. The well known *faqir*, Mian Mir, heard of it, and visiting Chandu Lal warned him of the injudicious step he was taking. At the same time he told the Guru that he would complain to the Emperor and bring ruin upon his tormentor. Thereon some spiritual discussion ensued and Mian Mir asked why a tyrant and sinner like Chandu Lal should not be annihilated. The Guru replied that as a Saint, tolerance was his duty, adding that as distress assays one's friends and wife, war a warrior and famine charity, so violence, cruelty and dishonour test a Saint. In concluding his remarks the Guru said, "O Sir, nobody can do anything except the all powerful Lord, and everything that happens, comes under His orders and like other Saints the Lord is assaying me. Sorrow and happiness are predestined for the body. The soul is separate from it, steel cannot cut her, fire cannot burn her, and water cannot dissolve her, Our maxim is :

ਜੇ ਸੁਖ ਦੇਹਿ ਤ ਤੁਝਹਿ ਅਰਾਧੀ ਦੁਖਿ ਭੀ ਤੁਝੈ ਧਿਆਈ ॥

Je sukh(u) deh(i) ta tujhe arādhī dukh(i) bhī tujhai dhiāī.

(p. 757)

"O Lord ! If Thou grantest happiness, I will repeat Thy name, and in distress too I must invoke Thee."

Hearing this discourse of the Guru in spite of such cruel torture, the visitor was surprised and retired in amazement.

Soon after the departure of Mian Mir, the cruel tormentor laid before the Guru a raw cow-hide with the intimation that next morning, he would be enclosed therein. However early in the next morning, before the tyrant could carry out his evil design, the Guru bathed as usual and then after worship of the Almighty, on 22nd *Jeth*, V.S. 1663 (May 1606 A.D.), he gave up his spirit and in accordance with his instructions the body was thrown into the river. A shrine was erected opposite the Fort of Lahore on the spot where he breathed his last.

The death of Guru Arjan gave a new turn to the history of the Sikh nation. It inflamed the religious passions of the Sikhs and measures were adopted to pay the cruel tyrant in his own coin, as will appear from the next chapter.

Bhai Gurdas, the celebrated Sikh poet, flourished during the time of Guru Arjan. He was a great scholar and wrote the Granth Sahib at the dictation of the Guru.

CHAPTER VI

GURU HARGOBIND

Guru Arjan had only one son, Hargobind. He was born on 21st *Har*, V.S. 1652 (June 1595 A.D.) at village Vadali in Amritsar District. He occupied the Sikh apostolic seat on the 9th *Har* V.S. 1663 (June 1606 A.D.) at the age of 11 years. At the time of his accession, the *Masands* or Tithe collectors, according to the old custom, presented a *manji* (bedstead), a *sebli* (a woollen thread worn by *Faqirs*), a hat, a religious book and a rosary. The Guru returned them with the remark that he was destined to change the doctrine of the rosary to that of the sword. His mission was to protect the faith of the Lord and the necessary protection could not be afforded without the aid of arms. Therefore, he proclaimed his intention of wearing arms. He wore two swords, one each on the right and the left, abandoning the *sebli* and *topi* (symbolic headgear of a spiritual divine or of a *faqir*) for good. He explained that one sword represented *faqiri* and the other *amiri*, the proper exposition of which expression is yet a mystery. The most probable construction is that he combined the qualities of a warrior and a saint. He became a military leader as well as a spiritual leader. He took delight in hunting and was the first Guru who organised a military system, armed his followers, and prepared them for action in the field. He engaged the services of the brave and drilled them in arms. In a very short time he formed a handsome group of combatants and those Hindus, who had proposed to embrace Islam under coercion of the authorities, began to look to him for comfort and protection.

On 5th *Har* V.S. 1666 (June 1609 A.D.) Guru Hargobind constructed *Akal Bunga* (the house of God) in front of the Sikh temple at Amritsar. In that temple he began to convene

assemblies to preach his gospel. He said that as long as he continued in the Harimandar, he should be reckoned a saint and in *Akal Bunga*, he should be looked upon as a King. He dressed himself in costly and princely attire and issued an edict to the Sikhs to present him arms on their usual visits of pilgrimage.

He became very famous for his charity and spiritual power. The free kitchen (*langar*) was maintained on a much larger scale than before and thousands of Hindu and Muhammadan poor were constantly waiting for food and clothing. Psalms were ever being recited in the temple and the tradition of morning and evening prayers were more rigidly observed. The Guru toured through the country on various occasions preaching the mission of Guru Nanak. He constructed many gardens and established many public institutions. He obtained a lease from the Emperor and founded Hargobindpur on 17th Assu V.S. 1677 (October 1620 A.D.)

On seeing the prosperity of the Guru, his cousin Meharban, son of his paternal uncle, Prithi Chand, grew very jealous and conspiring with Chandu Lal, complained to the Emperor Jahangir, that having abandoned the practice of his ancestors, the Guru had buckled on the sword, and organised a regular army, and had begun to dispose of judicial cases like the King's law-courts. He also represented that these facts were injurious to the interests of the State and prayed the Emperor to adopt measures to stop them. Chandu Lal reminded the Emperor of the imposition of the fine of Rs. 100,000 on the deceased Guru Arjan and suggested its recovery from his son. The Emperor deputed two Sardars to fetch Guru Hargobind.

On his part the Guru was also seeking an opportunity to have an interview with the Emperor, so that Chandu Lal might be chastised for his cruelty. On the arrival of the Sardars, he at once made necessary arrangements for his household and the Temple of Amritsar, and started on 3th *Jeth* V.S. 1673 (May 1616 A.D.) to Delhi with 100 horse and foot. When by convenient marches he reached Delhi, the Emperor received him with due marks of honour and respect and during the interview he was very much pleased by what he saw. He granted Rs. 500 for the *langar* and issued orders for the

necessary supply of grain and fodder for horses. At the same time he gave him permission to attend the court daily. On several occasions the Guru accompanied the Emperor to his sport excursions. The Guru's rising in the estimation of the emperor grieved his father's enemy, Chandu Lal, who made several unsuccessful attempts to injure him. However on an occasion when the Emperor was attacked with high fever for three successive days, the old snake, Chandu Lal, found an opportunity to bite. He bribed the royal astronomer to attempt the removal of the Guru from the royal presence. The astronomer told the Emperor that an evil star (*Sārb satti*) had appeared which foreboded evil to His Majesty for 7½ years, unless a pious *faqir* like the Guru, should repeat holy hymns for 40 days in some suitable place in the south. Then Chandu Lal came in and pretended to praise the Guru much and suggested that the Fort of Gwalior was the most suitable and convenient locality for the purpose. The Emperor was deceived and a message was sent to the Guru accordingly. The latter did not think it proper to enter into a discussion at the time and carried out the royal wishes at once and left for Gwalior with 5 Sikhs. When he had been there for some days, Chandu Lal sought an opportunity to explain the prosperous condition of the Guru and the advisability of levying the fine of Rs. 100,000 and suggested that until the amount was paid in, the Guru should be told to remain in the Fort as a state prisoner. His Majesty agreed and orders were issued accordingly. Some months later, the news of the fact reached Amritsar and the Guru's mother deputed Baba Buddha to procure his release on payment of the fine. About 2,000 Sikhs accompanied him. They gathered around the fort and bowed before its walls in worship of the Saint undergoing persecution there. They asked for permission to pay the fine, but the Guru forbade them on pain of curse and excommunication and it was never paid in.

The Guru was ever busy in meditation and did not care about his imprisonment, but the Sikh nation was deeply concerned. At the time the famous *faqir*, Mian Mir happened to visit Delhi, and obtained an interview with the Emperor. During the conversation the latter stated the troubled nature of his dreams, which the former attributed to the incarceration of

the innocent Guru. At the same time he showed the Emperor how Chandu Lal had been cruel and harsh upon the deceased Guru Arjan on account of a private grudge and how for that same reason he was bent upon bringing harm to the Guru. He added that for such acts, though the subordinates were directly responsible, the rulers were also liable to suffer. By these remarks the Emperor was much affected and ordered the immediate release and return of the Guru to Delhi. On his arrival there precious presents were sent to him, and His Majesty apologised and sought forgiveness for his mal-treatment of the Guru.

At the Emperor's request the Guru halted for some time at Delhi. His Majesty found in him an excellent sportsman and a talented combatant. He accompanied the imperial camp during His Majesty's tour of Rajputana and raised himself much in the estimation of the Emperor. His Majesty deputed him to subdue Raja Tara Chand of Nalagarh who had continued for a long time in open rebellion and all efforts to subdue him had failed. He was vanquished and brought before the Emperor in V.S. 1675 (1618 A.D.). Owing to this, new honours were conferred upon the Guru, and he was made Honorary Commander of 7 guns and 1000 horse and foot. He was also invested with the powers of control over and of hearing appeals against the decisions of the authorities in the Panjab. His decisions in judicial cases were received and accepted by the parties with gratification and his preachings in spiritual knowledge and moral courage raised his followers much higher in social and moral standing. His popularity as spiritual leader and temporal judge largely augmented his power and fame. He was termed by the people *Sacha Padshah Sodhi Sultan* (True king, the Sodhi Sultan).

When the Guru was about to leave Delhi for home, he had a parting interview with the Emperor. The former was wearing a very beautiful and precious *Simarna* (a miniature rosary of 28 beads) of pearls and *Kapurs* (a sort of gems) and His Majesty asked for one of those pearls to serve as a top-bead of his royal rosary as a token of the Guru's friendship. He placed it at His Majesty's disposal with the remark that his father had a rosary of 108 pearls much superior to those, and

that now it was in possession of his Diwan, Chandu Lal. These remarks reminded the Emperor of the story related by Mian Mir and he asked for its details, which were duly given. Then the Diwan was immediately sent for, and Guru Arjan's rosary and seal which were in his possession were demanded. The Diwan denied all knowledge thereof, on which his house was searched and both articles were found. Consequently his whole property was confiscated and Chandu Lal, being considered as the murderer of Guru Arjan, was handed over to Guru Hargobind to be dealt with as he deemed proper.

The Diwan was put in charge of the dog-keeper and orders were issued that every Sikh should deal five blows with a shoe on his head every morning. Enduring that treatment he was brought to Amritsar in *Magh* V.S. 1675 (1618 A.D.). During the next month he accompanied the Guru's camp to Lahore where he was dragged through the streets with chains in his feet. He was so abused and taunted by the public and so oppressed by the sense of his own sins that life hung heavy upon him and eventually on 27th *Phagan* V.S. 1675 (1619 A.D.), one Gurditta *Bharbhunja* (grain parcher) ended the Diwan's miserable life by pouring hot sand upon his head as he was passing by his shop. It was a very good moral for the public that one whom the tyrant had employed to supply hot and burning sands for paining the Guru, served similarly to execute and end the life of the tyrant.

In 1677 V.S. (1620 A.D.) one Bhag Mal, a Sikh was taking a fine Turkistani horse from Kabul for presentation to the Guru. It was seized at Lahore by the officers of the King and presented to Prince Shahab-ud-Din (afterwards Shah Jahan). He was struck with its beauty and ordered its price to be paid and the horse to be sent to the royal stable notwithstanding the vehement protests of the owner. The fact was reported to the Guru who said that it must eventually come to him. The horse became lame and was made over to Rustam Khan, the Chief *Qazi* of Lahore. He properly treated and cured the animal and then sold it to the Guru. At the time, of which we are speaking, the Guru was encamping at Muzang in the vicinity of the town of Lahore and halted there for five months. The house of *Qazi* Rustam

Khan was close by. He had one 'Kaulan'¹ in his harem. She used to hear the hymns which were constantly chanted by bands of musicians in the camp of the Guru. She admired them but the *Qazi* was greatly offended to know that a Mussalman woman should have any liking for the hymns of infidels. He began to maltreat her and contemplated her murder but she contrived to escape and took protection with the Guru. She was treated by him very kindly, and was lodged in a separate house with necessary arrangements for her safety. Eventually the tank named Kaulsar was constructed by the Guru in her memory as a true devotee. It is close to the grand and sacred reservoir at Amritsar just in front of Baba Attal. The excavation of this tank took 7 years and was completed in V.S. 1684 (1627 A.D.). She died in *Sawan* V.S. 1686 (1629 A.D.).

In V.S. 1682 (1625 A.D.) the Guru accompanied Emperor Jahangir to Kashmir via Chaprar, Wazirabad and Mirpur. From Srinagar he went to Tibet and Ladakh. When His Majesty left Kashmir for Kabul, the Guru returned to Amritsar via Muzaffarabad, Abbotabad, Hassan Abdal, Rawalpindi, Gujrat, Hafizabad, Talwandi (Guru Nanak's birth place, where he got the present Nankana Sahib raised), Manak and other places. The famous Shah Daula and Jahangir *faqirs* met him at Gujrat.

On his way back from Kabul the Emperor fell ill and died at Bhimbar on the morning of 28th October 1627 A.D. (V.S. 1684). He was succeeded by Shah Jahan, his son. During the life-time of Jahangir, as could be expected, the power and authority of the Guru had engendered jealousy among the king's officials. The faith of Guru Nanak was already disliked by the priestly classes on account of its egalitarian tenets. Chandu Lal's relations and Prithi Chand's descendants were all remained on the look-out for an opportune time to renew their

1. The identity of Kaulan is still shrouded in mysty. Some will like us to believe that she was the daughter of Rustam Khan who got converted to Sikhism (Teja Singh, Ganda Singh *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, 40 (footnote)). Others state that she was a Hindu girl (original name Kamla) who was forcibly admitted to the harem of the *Qazi* of Lahore. Some historians establish her to be a Hindu girl adopted by *Qazi* Rustam Khan. Her Hindu name is believed to be Kamla. She was also very close to Mian Mir ji from whom she learnt a lot about the Sikhs and the *Gurbani*, she became an ardent admirer of the Guru and a devotee of the Divine *Gurbani*.—Ed.

complaints. Rustam Khan, *Qazi* was seeking an opportunity to claim the restoration of Kaulan. Many attempts to bring harm to the Guru had failed during the life-time of Jahangir, but when the young and inexperienced Emperor ascended the throne, the malicious attacks were renewed and many complaints poured in. Although, before his ascending the throne, Shah Jahan was a great friend of the Guru and held him in high respect and used to pay him visits during his stay at Lahore, yet on receipt of these multifarious complaints his views changed. Immediately after he became Emperor, the selfish and jealous Muhammadan officials advised him to withdraw the power with which his father had invested the Guru. The latter on his part did not care a bit for it.

The Guru in V.S. 1684 (1627 A.D.) was invited by certain hill Rajas to visit their country, but he sent Baba Gurditta, his eldest son to Dun and Hindūr. The young prince (Sahibzada) founded Kiratpur on 13th *Maghar* V.S. 1684 (December 1627 A.D.).

At about the same time, the Guru was sporting near the village of Gumtala and Shah Jahan also chanced at the very juncture to be sporting in the vicinity of Kuhala. A hawk belonging to the Emperor joined those belonging to the Guru, who proposed not to part with it. On this, various past complaints were brought again to the notice of the Emperor and induced His Majesty to send an armed force with a view to seize the Guru and disperse his followers. Gulam Rasul Khan was deputed from Lahore at the head of 7,000 troops. The Guru encountered him with 1,000 men. On 17th *Chet* V.S. 1685 (March 1629 A.D.) a severe battle was fought at Vadala near Amritsar. The King's army was signally defeated and returned at Lahore after sustaining a heavy losses. Two leaders were killed and the commander was wounded in the engagement. An enormous quantity of stores and magazines fell into the hands of the victor and this was the first battle in the annals of the Panjab which was fought between the Muhammandans and the Sikhs.

When the news of this discomfiture reached the Emperor, he was got enraged and firmed with anger. He immediately despatched Mukhlas Khan, *Naib* (Deputy) *Subedar*, at the head

of 15,000 men to fight the Guru. The Guru had anticipated this and made necessary arrangements. He had by this time 4,000 combatants under his banner. He added 5 more to the number of guns in his possession by boring holes in wooden logs, which he mounted on the Lohgarh Fort. A pitched battle was fought on 11th *Baisakh* V.S. 1686 (April 1629 A.D.). The issue was undecided when the fall of night stopped operations. However during the night the Sikhs inflicted a heavy losses on the enemy. Next morning the king's force was on the verge of breaking down when Mukhlas Khan very bravely stormed the fort. Then the town of Amritsar was plundered. When the imperial army was busy with the spoils, the Guru who was not present during the storming of the fort, was preparing for another encounter. He personally led the combat, both sides lost seriously in killed and wounded and Mukhlas Khan was killed by the Guru himself. The imperial army suffered a disastrous defeat and returned to Lahore. In order to avoid further and immediate attack by the imperial force, the Guru went to Jhubal. He halted there for a few days and then left for Kartarpur (Jalandhar) via Tarn Taran, Khadur and Goindwal.

When the news of the defeat reached the Emperor, he was extremely enraged and proposed to despatch a large army again. But Wazir Khan, Governor of Lahore, dissuaded him, explaining how the Guru, who was a mere *faqir*, had roused the spirits of the people, and how he was fighting with wooden guns. He represented that nothing good would come out if he were captured or conquered and the proposal was thus, after due consideration dropped.

Owing to the somewhat prolonged absence of the Guru from Hargobindpur, one Bhagwana, a relation of well-known Chandu Lal, had taken wrongful possession of it. When in V.S. 1686 (1629 A.D.) the Guru went there, Bhagwana refused to vacate the place. He thought that since the Emperor was not on good terms with the Guru, he would be able to hold the village for ever. He, therefore, resisted and fought with the Guru, but was slain in the encounter. Rattan Chand, the son of the deceased, then hastened to Jalandhar and after consulting the relations of Chandu Lal and others, who were unfavourably disposed towards the Guru, induced the Governor of Jalandhar,

Abdulla Khan to capture the Guru as a fugitive, and present him before the Emperor. The Guru was stated to have only 200 men with him at that time. Abdulla Khan then marched on Hargobindpur at the head of 5,000 men. The Guru also made necessary preparations and a fierce battle was fought for three days. Both sides sustained serious losses and the Muhammadan Commander with many high officers fell in the field. Victory remained with the Sikhs, and many trophies of war fell into their hands.

When fate decided against the invader, Bhagwana laid his case before the Viceroy of Lahore. A thorough and sifting inquiry was made into all his allegations and a detailed report was submitted to the emperor at Delhi. On perusal of this report all the suspicions which Shah Jahan had long entertained with regard to the Guru, were effaced from his mind, and thereafter he took no action on any complaints against the Guru.

Things then went on smoothly for about two years until fresh incidents necessitated the disturbance of the peace. In V.S. 1689 (1632 A.D.) a Sikh horse-dealer brought from Kabul two very fine horses for the Guru. The Governor of Lahore forcibly took them for the King and paid for them against the owner's will. He protested against the bargain, but in vain, and intimated the fact to the Guru, who remarked that the Governor had no right to seize horses which were intended for the Guru. One Bidhi Chand volunteered to fetch them for the Guru. In a very curious way he took one animal from the fort of Lahore and presented it to the Guru. At that time the river Ravi was flowing by the side of the fort and the animal being made to swim therein for some distance, no track was left by which it could be traced. Then the same Bidhi Chand appeared as tracker and pretended to find out the stolen animal. After some preliminaries he rode the second horse in day light and in presence of the keepers of the royal stable, jumped into the river in the same way as he had done before, and then, giving them full particulars of himself and his destination, he challenged them to follow him. All were astonished at it and a detailed report was submitted to the Emperor. He flew into violent anger and deputed Mirza Kamir Beg Khan,² a leader of

the army, with 22,000 troops to capture the Guru. The latter entrenched himself on the bank of a pond at the village of *Labr*, and a serious battle was fought on the 17th *Poh* V.S. 1690 (1633 A.D.). It continued for several days and the loss, especially of the king's army, was enormous. It suffered extremely from the difficulties of the march and the want of provisions had a disastrous effect upon it. It was signally defeated and leaving its commanders slain on the battlefields, it fled to Lahore. The Guru duly respected the dead of the enemy. The Hindus were collected and burnt according to the Hindu custom, and the Mussalmans were duly buried. He took the wounded alongwith himself and took necessary measures to properly dress their wounds and feed them. When their wounds got healed, he sent them to the Emperor with necessary travelling expenses. On their arrival at the imperial court they greatly praised the valour, charity and magnanimity of the Guru. It is said that the loss of the imperial army in this battle came to about 16,000 men or 73 percent of the total.

After that, the Guru toured through many villages preaching righteousness, and visited Raja Tara Chand's territory. Then he came back to Amritsar in V.S. 1692 (1635 A.D.). For some time there was peace until the disloyal Painda Khan induced the Emperor to attack the Guru again.

Painda Khan was a Pathan. He was employed by the Guru on Rs. 5 per diem and was most liberally treated. He had long been in his service. Once many valuable presents, which were brought for the Guru, were stolen by his son-in-law, Usman Khan. The Guru told him to restrain the young Pathan from committing such acts again, but Painda Khan, who was arrogant and over-proud, took no notice of it. On the contrary he went on encouraging Usman Khan. Again a valuable hawk, which chanced to have flown to his house, was seized by him. Similarly he was guilty of many more misdemeanours and denied each and every offence. Many of the stolen articles were then recovered from his house and he was disgracefully dismissed from the service for misbehaviour.

Painda Khan thought that it was he alone through whose prowess the Guru was ever victorious in the field of battle. He went to the Governor of Jalandhar for help, which was refused.

Then he came at Lahore, and on various pretexts and false assurances, the Emperor furnished him with a powerful army, and in *Baisakh* V.S. 1693 (1636 A.D.) he marched upon the Guru, who at the time, had about 3,000 men. There was desperate fighting at Amritsar³ for three days, ending with a miserable and complete defeat of the imperial army. The Guru exhibited many feats of bravery and killed many of the enemy with his own hands. Painsa Khan directed his attack upon the person of the Guru and thrice endeavoured to injure him with his sword, but it was dexterously warded off. He then dismounted from his horse and the Guru, desiring to try a duel with him, followed his example and immediately alighted from his horse and challenged him to shield himself against his blow. The very first blow served him a fatal stroke, and he lay strewn on the earth.

Then the Guru told him, "O Painsa Khan, repeat Thy *Kalmah* (Muslim prayer)." He replied, "Thy sword serves me as *Kalmah*, O Lord." The Guru had great pity on him and sat by him. The hot rays of the sun fell upon his face, and the Guru protected him with his shield until he breathed his last.

When the Guru was shading Painsa's face. Usman Khan, the root of all the mischief, rushed towards the Guru. Before he reached him, he saw the Guru's son and shot an arrow at him, but it missed him. The Guru's son replied to him with an arrow which pierced through his forehead and he fell dead.

The Guru and his son had some little conversation when the battle was raging at its height and prayed to God to bless the souls of Painsa and Usman Khan whom they had just despatched. After this the Guru killed many more with his own hands and the majority of the commanders tasted their death at his hands. The fight ended with the defeat of the imperial army.

While the fight was going on, a brave soldier rushed on the Guru with sword. The Guru warded off the blow and returned him a fatal stroke exclaiming, "You have not the knack of using the sword, this is the way to wield it."

3. Most historical accounts state that this battle was fought in 1634 at Kartarpur near Jalandhar.—Ed.

The loss of the enemy in dead was estimated at 5,000 men and that of the Sikhs at 700.

Soon after gaining this victory, the Guru started towards Kiratpur. As soon as the Guru left Amritsar, the scattered army of the enemy rallied again and after sacking Kartarpur followed him. A severe battle was again fought at Phagwara in *Jeth* V.S. 1693 (1636 A.D.) and the Imperial force was routed in disaster. Then the Guru continued his march to Kiratpur.

One Almast, an *Udasi faqir*, who was incharge of Nanak Matta in the district of Naini Tal, complained that *Jogis* had expelled him from the shrine and burnt down the *Pipal* tree under which the Guru Nanak had carried on his religious discourses with the followers of Gorakh Nath. Therefore in *Kartik* V.S. 1693 (1636 A.D.) the Guru started for that place via Najibabad, Nagina, Muradabad, Chandosi, Bareli and Pili Bhit. Almast was restored to the possession of the Shrine and the *Pipal* tree was resuscitated by sprinkling water mixed with saffron, and the leaves of the tree have, since then, peculiar marks on them. After that the Guru returned to Kiratpur through Aligarh, Bulandshahr, Delhi and Karnal.

Raja Tara Chand of Hindur had some boundary dispute with the Nawab of Ropar upon which a fight ensued in *Phagan* V.S. 1698 (1642 A.D.). The Guru supported the Raja, and the Nawab was completely defeated.

During the following month, the Guru started for Kurukshetra with an escort of 1,000 *sawars* (horsemen). When he came to Brahman Majra the *Pathans* of Ropar, Sangholi, Bahlolpur and Kiri surrounded him with enormous troops. The Guru defended his position very valiantly and admirably until reinforcements were received from Kiratpur and the Pathans were dispersed.

Nothing of importance took place during the next two years. The Guru spent his last days at Kiratpur and breathed his last there on *Chet Sudi* 5th, V.S. 1701 (March 1645 A.D.) after nominating his grandson Har Rai, as Guru. He departed at the age of 48 Years, 9 months and 4 days and remained Guru for 37 years, 10 months, and one day.

The Sikhs had great love and respect for him and were ever ready to rally round his banner, on the approach of danger,

at the shortest notice. His death was considered a national calamity and the author of the *Dabistan-e-Mazahib*, a contemporary gives a very pathetic account of his death and of the cremation of his body. Many of the Sikhs volunteered to burn themselves on his funeral pyre. Two of his followers, notwithstanding remonstrances, actually jumped into the burning pyre and expired at the feet of the Guru. Many more including Raja Ram Partap Singh of Jaisalmer, were ready to follow but were strictly forbidden by the young Guru Har Rai. Such was the estimation in which the deceased Guru was held by the Sikhs, and it appears to be an unprecedented and unparalleled instance in the religious world. He was respected by Hindus and Muhammadans alike. Between Hargobindpur and Amritsar he had constructed, at convenient stages, *Masjids* and *deras* for Muhammadan travellers who were also fed there at the expense of the Guru.

CHAPTER VII

GURU HAR RAI

Guru Hargobind had three wives¹ of whom he had five sons; (1) Baba Gurditta born V.S. 1670 (1613 A.D.), (2) Ani Rai born 26th *Magh*, V.S. 1672 (1616 A.D.), (3) Suraj Mal, born 11th *Har*, V.S. 1672 (1615 A.D.), (4) Attal Rai, born 22nd *Kartik*, V.S. 1676 (1619 A.D.) and (5) Teg Bahadur born on the 5th day of the dark half of the month of *Baisakh*, V.S. 1679 (1622 A.D.). The traditional account of the death of Baba Gurditta and Attal Rai is very curious and interesting. In V.S. 1695 (1638 A.D.). Baba Gurditta restored to life a cow which had been accidentally killed by a Sikh. When Guru Hargobind heard of it, he was very angry and told him that he had been unable to contain his spiritual power and might, within himself, and indicated that his behaviour proved that either the son or the father must live and that both of them could not live at the same time. Thereon the son encompassed his father and went straight to the tomb of one Budhan Shah, a Muhammandan *faqir*. Close to that tomb he spread a bedding of grass, lay down and gave up his soul. The father was rather glad to hear of it and his funeral obsequies were duly performed and a shrine erected on the very spot where he died in the vicinity of Kiratpur.

As regards Attal Rai it is stated that one day when he was about 9 years old, he was playing with boys of about the same age. He won the game but owing to its getting late in the evening, he said that he would continue the play the next morning. During the night his playmate, who had lost the game was bitten by a snake and died. When Attal Rai went to his house to call him to come out and play, he found his parents lamenting for him. Attal Rai kicked and called him out as if

1. This fact has yet to be historically established.—Ed.

he was pretending to sleep in order to evade his turn. The boy at once arose and went to play. When he came to know of this, the Guru was very angry. When Attal Rai came to him, he said, "They act shows as if thou art an equal with and antagonist to the Lord. Thou art vying with Him and disobeying Him. He causes one to die and thou reanimatest the dead. To work miracles in this way is strictly prohibited and thy conduct in this respect is reprehensible." When thus reprimanded, Baba Atta Rai very submissively and meekly went out and lying down on the ground, spread his sheet over himself and breathed his last.² A shrine was raised on the spot at Amritsar. It is close to the holy reservoir on the bank of Kaulsar. It is the highest building in the town. At the time when Baba Attal Rai died the locality was a dense jungle.

Har Rai, the son of Baba Gurditta, (who as stated above, predeceased his father) succeeded Guru Hargobind. He was born on 13th *Magh* V.S. 1686 (1630 A.D.) at Kiratpur. He was a quiet and contented man and affable in his habits. He remained absorbed himself in divine worship and having no inclination for warfare, preferred a peaceful and retired life.

We give the following example of the belief and teachings of the Sikh Gurus upto the time with which we are dealing. An ambassador from Turkey, while on his way home from Delhi, visited the Guru at Amritsar, and asked which of the Prophets and the *Avatars* (incarnations of God) was competent to redeem and save us from hell. The Guru said that only an individual's own acts could do so and that the Prophets and incarnations were liable to reap the fruit of their own doings like others. The ambassador was very pleased with the answer.

In *Kartik* V.S. 1707 (1650 A.D.) Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of the Emperor, Shah Jahan, paid a visit at Kiratpur and offered *Jagir* and several precious presents but the Guru politely refused to accept the *Jagir*.

Guru Har Rai travelled in different parts of the country. In V.S. 1710 he went to Malwa and halted for some time at

2. The miracles referred to may not be believed by those who have no faith in such happenings. But we have given the above as these anecdote account come down to us both by oral and written tradition and in regard to the feasibility of miracles or supernatural power, the reader is referred to Chapter XXIV, Part II.

Dowali in the *Parganah* of Bathinda. The ancestors of the Phuls, a sub-division of Jats, resided there as tenants-at-will and the landlords would not even allow them to sink a well. One day Chaudhari Kala brought his nephews, Phul and Sandli whose father was, during the time of Guru Hargobind, killed in a battle. Phul, who was then 5 years old, struck with his hands, at the instance of his uncle, his own naked belly like a drum in front of the Guru. When asked why he did so, Kala explained that he was hungry and wanted something to eat. The Guru replied that his descendants would lord over the country between Satluj and Jamna. This prediction was fulfilled shortly afterwards, and the Rajas of Patiala, Jind and Nabha are descended from that very Phul. Having obtained the above reply and returned home, Chaudhari Kala related the whole story to his wife. She rebuked him because it would not benefit him, or his own progeny, and remarked that if Phul's descendants became rulers of the country, it would be better to be lorded over by a Muhammadan than their own *Shariks* (agnates). She advised him to get some blessings in his own favour. He, therefore, appeared again before the Guru, with his own sons. The Guru said that the lot of Phul's descendants was unalterable whereas Chaudhari's descendants would enjoy free grants of land. Kala's descendants are now *Jagirdars* and are called *Laud gharie Sardars*.

Guru Har Rai had, as already stated, no taste for war, and as soon as he assumed the Guruship, he discharged all the troops which were maintained by his grandfather, except 2200 men, who were either foreigners or refugees from the Muhammadan oppression, whom it was considered not advisable to disband. Nevertheless the military spirit of the Sikhs which was fostered during the time of Guru Hargobind did not abate but continued to flourish.³ Guru Har Rai took particular precautions to avoid any intermeddling with politics, but circumstances were not wanting under which the Sikhs were compelled to exert their power and energy for their own defence. In V.S. 1713 (1656 A.D.) when from his tour of Malwa and Doaba the Guru was coming back to Goindwal,

3. It is wrong to say that Guru Har Rai had no taste for war. He was himself a soldier and maintained a retinue of 2200 soldiers but he followed a policy of peace.—Ed.

Muhammad Yar Beg Khan (son of Mukhlis Khan who was killed by Guru Hargobind in a battle) chanced to pass that way with 1,000 men, attacked the baggage and the ladies who were following the Guru at some distance unawares. The Guru knew nothing of this attack, but the little escort defended themselves admirably and drove the enemy away with considerable loss. Bhai Garra, whose descendants now rule the Kaithal State was the most prominent among those who valiantly fought the attackers and was rewarded by the Guru for his courage and bravery. The Raja of Kahlur also showed signs of hostility but was repulsed by the Sikhs.

The Emperor, Shah Jahan, like his ancestors, Akbar and Jahangir, lay under the curse of rebellious sons. He suffered from the intrigues and rebellions of his family. When in V.S. 1714 (August 1657 A.D.) he was seized with a severe sudden illness, his sons began to quarrel for the throne. In June 1658 A.D. Dara Shikoh, the eldest son, was defeated at Chambal and compelled to flee to Delhi with a handful of followers. The governor of that place closed the fortress against him and he was obliged to march rapidly towards Lahore. Aurangzeb sent troops in pursuit of him and they had reached close to him, when he came to the Guru at Goindwal, and implored him to take measures to delay the crossing of the River Beas by the pursuers, so that he might gain time to elude the pursuit. The Prince had always maintained cordial relations with the Guru, and through the effectual assistance of the Guru with his small contingent of 2,200 men and three guns, the enemy was kept at bay and obliged to return towards Delhi.

After a treacherous conflict with his brothers, Aurangzeb deposed his father, making him a state prisoner in the fort of Agra, and proclaimed himself king in V.S. 1715 (June 1658 A.D.). He cleared the field by disposing of his rivals by death or dungeon, and Dara Shikoh also being betrayed into his hands by the Chief of Jun⁴ on the east, was, by a mock tribunal, pronounced to be an apostate and doomed to suffer death. After the establishment of his rule and the strengthening of his hands, the hypocrite Aurangzeb embarked upon his grand but wicked

4. On the eastern border of Sindh.—Ed.

enterprise of religious crusade against the Hindus. In connection with that crusade his majesty summoned Guru Har Rai to Delhi on a certain pretext, but the Guru foreseeing his intentions, sent on 7th *Baisakh* V.S. 1717 (1660 A.D.) a letter to him, representing that he was a mere *faqir* and that he had no business at the imperial court and hoped that his presence would be excused. Ram Rai, the eldest son of the Guru, took his letter to his Majesty. Aurangzeb was satisfied on the receipt of that letter, and was highly pleased with the conversation he had with Ram Rai whom he kept at his court for a long period and treated with marked distinction granting Rs. 500 daily for his *langar* (public kitchen). Ram Rai had strict injunctions from his father to be sure to his faith and never to swerve from it whatever the circumstances might be. His Majesty used to hear much from him about the Sikh religion and highly revered the Holy Granth. He deemed the faith to be practically on all fours with the tenets of Islam. One day his Majesty came across a sentence in the Sikh Scripture in Rag Asa, and asked Ram Rai about its meaning. That sentence related to the sufferings of the body of a Mussalman after his death, and Ram Rai thinking that it would offend the Emperor, who was very bigoted, substituted the word 'be-iman' (faithless) for 'Mussalman' in order to please him. When the report of the fact reached him, the Guru was exasperated with anger and remarked that no mortal could change the sayings of Guru Nanak, and that the face which had dared do so would never be seen by him. He was charged with falsehood and disinherited with a perpetual injunction that no true Sikh should on pain of excommunication from Sikhism, maintain any intercourse with him or his progeny. Ram Rai asked for forgiveness and personally waited upon his father at Kiratpur. Pardon was not granted and the request for an interview was rejected with the order that he should instantaneously leave Kiratpur to any direction he liked. He thereupon went to Dehra Dun and founded a shrine there, to visit which the Sikhs are strictly forbidden.

At the age of 31 years, 8 months and 22 days, and after a reign of 17 years, 6 months and 9 days, Guru Har Rai died at Kiratpur on 9th *Kartik Sudi* V.S. 1718 (1661 A.D.). He nominated his youngest son Har Krishan as Guru.

CHAPTER VIII

GURU HAR KRISHAN

Guru Har Rai had two sons. The eldest and heir apparent Ram Rai, was disinherited, as explained in the preceding Chapter. The second son, Har Krishan, was declared by the Guru to be his successor by the observation of the customary ceremonies, and his apostleship began from 10th *Kartik* V.S. 1718 (1661 A.D.) at the age of about 5 years. He was born at Kiratpur on 9th *Sawan* V.S. 1713 (1656 A.D.).

Though a mere child in years, he possessed high attainments and justified the selection. When the news of his succession reached Ram Rai, he was inflamed with jealousy and violently contested the office and filed a regular suit before the Emperor to obtain it. His Majesty issued orders to the Guru to repair to Delhi, and directed Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur to make the necessary arrangements. The Raja deputed his Diwan Paras Ram to escort the Guru with due honour to Delhi. When Diwan reached Kiratpur, the Guru told him that he would, of course, visit Delhi, but he would not like to see a bigoted tyrant like Aurangzeb. The Sikhs thought that the Guru was sent for by his Majesty to receive the same sort of ill treatment as the Emperor was, at that time, dealing to Hindu *faqir* with a view to coerce them to embrace Islam. Therefore, thousands of Sikhs making necessary arrangements for their private expenses, started with the Guru in order to perish in case any harm was done to him. The young Guru left Kiratpur for Delhi in *Magh* V.S. 1720 (1664 A.D.) and forbade the Sikhs to proceed with him. When they persisted, he, on arrival at Panjokhra in Ambala District, drew a line on the ground with order that anyone who crossed it to the Delhi side against his wishes, was to be held

an apostate. His mother and about 20 Sikhs only were permitted to cross, and they formed his retinue.

On his arrival at Delhi, the Guru put up with Raja Jai Singh. His Majesty, the king received him with greatest respect than Ram Rai, because he was the acknowledged and recognized Guru and sent prince Mua'zam to pay him a visit as a mark of distinction. The Prince was highly pleased with what he saw of the Guru and praised him a great deal before His Majesty. The Guru after a short stay at Delhi fell ill and before meeting the Emperor, died of small-pox in *Chet* V.S. 1721 (1665 A.D.) at the age of 7 years, 8 months, and 19 days. He reigned as Guru for 3 years, 5 months and 11 days.¹

When the young Guru was on his death-bed at Delhi, the Sikhs asked him who as to would be their spiritual leader after him? He then sent for five pice and a coconut (customary presents for the succeeding Guru) and placing them on the ground bowed his head before them, with the remark, "Go, your Guru is in the village of Bakala," which was situated near Goindwal, on the Beas River. He did not name any one beyond the words, "*Baba Bakale hai*" and then made over the pice and the coconut to Bhai Gurditta, grandson of Baba Buddha who officiated at the time of such ceremonies from the time of Guru Nanak to that of Guru Hargobind.

As a specimen of Guru Har Krishan's sagacity it is related that when he reached Delhi, the head queen of Raja Jai Singh asked him to pay her a visit, and in order to test his spiritual power she put on ordinary clothes unbecoming of her position with an inward desire that he should, without any invitation,

1. Sayad Muhammad Latif says that the Guru was, as an object of curiosity, taken to the Emperor's *zenana* and told to recognize the Empress among a number of ladies who were similarly arrayed. He pointed her out with his finger, and his Majesty being much pleased declared the right of succession to be indisputable.

Note: This story relates to the *zenana* of Raja Jai Singh and not the Mughal harem. In fact the Guru never paid a visit to Aurangzeb's seraglio.—Ed.

On the spot where the Guru put up stands a Gurdwara called 'Bangla Sahib'. It is situated on the land belonging to the Jaipur State and about 4 miles to the south of the town of Delhi at a short distance from Rakabganj. The smadh of the Guru is on the right bank of the Jamna River in the village of Kalokri about 4 miles from the Delhi gate of the town of Delhi. It is about half a mile to the east of Barahpulla on the Delhi-Mathura Road.

sit in her lap. The chair on which she sat was a very ordinary compared with others. Other Ranis and females of the Royal family were arrayed in rich and superior attire. The Guru passed through the ladies touching them with his stick and sat, without any hesitation, in the lap of the queen. Rich and precious presents were made to the Guru by the ladies.

CHAPTER IX

GURU TEG BAHADUR

Guru Hargobind, the great-grandfather of Guru Har Krishan, had five sons of whom, Teg Bahadur was the youngest. He was born on the fifth day of the dark half of the month of *Baisakh*, V.S. 1679 (1622 A.D.) at Amritsar. When Guru Hargobind nominated his grandson, Har Rai, to succeed him, Lady Nanaki, the mother of Teg Bahadur, asked her husband about the fate of her son, expressing some uneasiness about his future. The Guru pacified and consoled her by telling that she should wait until his turn came to ascent the *Gaddi*. He entrusted his arms to her with instructions to deliver them to Teg Bahadur on his attaining the age of discretion.

After the demise of Guru Hargobind, his descendants were not on good terms with each other on account of the division of income from offerings. Practically all of the them became hostile towards Guru Har Rai. However, Teg Bahadur was very simple, straightforward and open-hearted and avoided taking any part in the family quarrels. He was of a contented and peaceful disposition and quite satisfied with what share of income he was getting. His mother, with a view to avoid complications, took him to her own father's house at Bakala. Her father was very wealthy and lodged her in a house which was newly built for the purpose. Teg Bahadur was ever engaged in deep religious contemplation and divine worship, being altogether indifferent to everything around him. He generally preferred seclusion and would shut himself upto some room.

As Guru Har Krishan had not named his successor, dissensions arose as to the succession. All descendants of Guru Har Gobind including other Sodhis at Batala set up their respective titles to the apostleship. Thus 22 men established

themselves as Guru and each devotee was required to make his offerings to all of them. Teg Bahadur was then living in oblivion being secluded in retirement. He kept himself aloof from the family feud and never asserted his title to *Guruship*. However, an incident occurred which resolved the dispute for ever. One Makhan Shah, a *Lubana* Sikh of Tanda whose descendants are now living in Sialkot district, had a shipfull of merchandise. It was about to sink in the ocean, when he offered to pay 500 gold *mohars* to the Guru in case the calamity was averted. The ship was saved and he came to pay his offerings to the Guru. But instead of one, he found a multitude of Gurus. He, therefore proposed to offer two gold *mohars* to each of them with the expectation that the one who was the real Guru would demand the whole amount. None of them could stand the test and the man was disappointed. He inquired whether there was any one else who had advanced his claim to the office of Guru. The reply was in the negative but the name of Teg Bahadur was then mentioned in the passing as an unworthy member of the Guru's family. Makhan Shah found him concealed in a house and laid two gold *mohars* before him. Teg Bahadur then said, "Hast thou come to test me with these two *mohars*? And is it seemly that I should be so assayed? Bring in 500 *mohars* according to the promise and then take them away as if they were from me. I am not in want of money." Then the Guru explained how the sinking ship was saved. Makhan Shah was surprised and gratified to find the true Guru. He straightaway proclaimed that the veritable Guru was found. The collectors (*Masands*) and others at once gathered together and five pice and the coconut which were lying in safe custody with Bhai Gurditta since the death of Guru Har Krishan, were placed before him and he was installed in the office of Guru on 8th *Baisakh* V.S. 1721 (April 16, 1664 A.D.). Teg Bahadur declined to take upon himself the onerous duties and serious responsibilities of the office and more than once expressed his desire to continue in seclusion and peace as before. However his mother and the majority of the Sikhs, who had assembled on the occasion, prevailed upon him to accept the succession as the Ninth Guru. The Arms left by Guru Hargobind were now delivered to him. But he said that he was unworthy to wear

his father's sword. When he saw the arms, he ordered them to be taken away, observing that it was a mistake if they took him for 'Teg Bahadur', the gladiator, and that he aspired to become 'Deg¹ Bahadur' or 'hero of the cooking pot'. By this he meant that he was a cherisher of the poor and supporter of the hungry. The whole congregation hailed these remarks with feelings of intense joy and satisfaction and thenceforward he was looked upon as the defender of the faith and the supporter of their honour.

His relations or the pseudo Gurus were extremely offended at this succession and Dhir Mal, who was in possession of the Sacred Granth, got prepared by his grandfather Guru Arjan Dev, and was confident of his ultimate assumption of the office, was exasperated. He attacked the Guru with his men, and fired a gun at the person of Guru Teg Bahadur, but the projectile missed and fatally wounded a Sikh who was sitting close to him. The Guru at the time had four or five men with him, who all dispersed. Dhir Mal plundering all that the Guru had, went with his spoils to Kartarpur. But the Sikhs hearing of it were greatly offended at the insult offered to the Guru and in spite of the Guru's remonstrances they pursued Dhir Mal and overtook him on his way. In a sharp contest Dhir Mal was defeated and narrowly escaped with his life. All his baggage including the Holy Granth, was brought to the Guru, but he returned the scripture explaining to the Sikhs that it was a source of income through offerings and he had no intention to deprive Dhir Mal of it. It may be remarked that it was the original copy of the Granth Sahib, no other copy being made of it then. Besides the copy of Bhai Banno at Mangat in the Gujrat District, no other copy excepting the original Granth Sahib was then extant.

While on his way to Kiratpur, the Guru visited Amritsar in *Magh* V.S. 1721 (about February 1665 A.D.) and reached his destination on 9th *Jeth*, V.S. 1722 (May 1665 A.D.). He was greatly troubled by his relations, but he wanted to avoid all quarrels and to live in solitude and peace. For that purpose he purchased some land and founded Anandpur on 21st *Har*,

1. *Deg* denotes plentitude though its literal meaning is a cooking pot.—Ed

V.S. 1722 (July 1665 A.D.) for his own residence. Dhir Mal instigated Ram Rai to renew his pretensions to the *gaddi*, but failed in his attempt. In *Maghar* V.S. 1722 (December 1665 A.D.) the Guru started on a preaching campaign and visited Mathura and Bindraban. Thence he went to Agra, Itawa, Kanpur (Cawnpore), Fatehpur, Allahbad, Mirzapur, Kanshi and Gaya. At Gaya he met Raja Ram Singh² who was marching on Assam at the head of the Imperial Army. The Raja solicited the Guru to accompany him during the expedition. The latter therefore, leaving his family at Patna, marched towards Assam through Bar, Munger, Bhagalpur, Kahlgaon, Kantnagar, Maqsudabad, Dhaka, Kumakhya Devi and Dholri Bandar on the bank of Brahmaputra. When the Rajas of Assam were defeated, Ram Rai the Raja of Gauripur, concluded peace through the intercession of the Guru and submitted. There, the Guru pointed out a place where Guru Nanak had once been, and raised a high platform called *Damdama* which exists to this day. The Sacred Granth opens there and a village is assigned in *Jagir* for its maintenance. Out of the spoils the Imperial Army had gained, large offerings were made to the Guru. These offerings were estimated at seven lakhs. On his return, the Guru came to Calcutta (then a small village called Kalikat), Baleswar, Mednipur, Kattak, Orrisa, Jagan Nath and reached Patna on 7th *Jeth* V.S. 1724 (May 1667 A.D.) After halting a few days and leaving his family at Patna he came back to Panjab via Susram, Jaunpur, Kanshinagar, Ajudhia, Lucknow, Farrukhabad, Muradabad, Meerut, Hardwar and arrived at Anandpur on 22nd *Baisakh* V.S. 1726 (May 1669 A.D.).

The Guru spent some years in travels and the propagation of righteousness in the Panjab. It was about this time that Aurangzeb began to display, what he had long been fostering; his repressive policy against the Hindus. The reader will be able to form from the following extract from Sayad Muhammad Latiff's *History of the Panjab*, some idea of the oppression practised then upon the Hindus :

"He (the Emperor Aurangzeb) discouraged the teaching

2. As regards the name of the Raja, the Sikh and English authors including Tod differ.

of the Hindus, burnt to the ground the great pagoda near Delhi, and destroyed the temple of Bishnath (Vishwanath) at Benaras, and the great temple of Dera Kesu Rai at Mathura, said to have been built by Raja Narsingh Deo, at a cost of thirty-three lakhs of rupees.

On the site of the ruined temple he built a vast mosque at a great cost. The richly decorated idols of the temples were removed to Agra and placed beneath the steps leading to the mosque of the Nawab Begum. The name Mathura was changed to Islamabad, and was so written in all correspondence and spoken by the people. Aurangzeb had resolved that the belief in one God and the Prophet should be, not the prevailing belief, but the only religion of the Empire of Hindustan. He issued *farmans* to the viceroys and governors of provinces to destroy pagodas and idols throughout his dominions. About three hundred temples in various parts of Rajputana were destroyed and their idols broken. The Emperor appointed Mullahs, with a party of horses attached to each, to check all ostentatious display of idol-worship. Sometime afterwards, he forbade fairs on Hindu festivals, and issued a circular to all Governors and men in authority prohibiting the employment of Hindus in the offices of the state immediately under them and commanding them to confer all such offices on Muhammadans only. About the year 1690, the emperor issued an edict prohibiting Hindus from being carried in palanquins or riding on Arab horses. All servants of the State were ordered to embrace the Muhammadan religion, under pain of dismissal. Those who refused were deprived of their posts. A large number of *Jogis*, *Sannyasis* and other religious men were driven out of the King's dominions. The Emperor reduced duty on merchandise belonging to Muhammadans to one-half the amount paid by Hindus, and remitted a number of other obnoxious taxes.

In the 22nd year of his reign, he renewed the *Jazia* or poll-tax on Hindus throughout his dominions."

The same author goes on to say "the Emperor had in those days thrown hundreds of *Brahmans* into jail, in the hope that if they first embraced the religion of the Prophet, the rest of the Hindus would readily follow their example."

This is a sufficient sketch to indicate the treatment of the Hindus, their disabilities and disadvantages, inducements and coercion to which they were subjected and the indignities inflicted upon them if they refused to embrace Islam. The extract shows the means of indirect coercion adopted for a wholesale conversion to Muhammadanism but it omits the direct measures taken for the purpose, namely the conversion or instantaneous death which compelled whole villages or territories to change their faith for that thrust upon them by force of arms. It was the time when the Hindus were subjected to the most cruel treatment. Their females were disgraced, religious ceremonies stopped, religious institutions defiled and converted into mosques, religious devotees banished, imprisoned, tormented or crucified. Thus oppression had no bounds and was at its zenith. Therefore the inevitable reaction under the circumstances was awaiting the nearing of a revolution which was destined to remove the oppression on the Hindus with the removal of the unjust empire.

The oppression practised on the innocent people had deeply affected the Guru and he determined to remedy the evil in any way he could. One day a large congregation was assembled and the people who had come from different and distant places, especially the Brahmins from Kashmir, (where the operation of forcible wholesale conversion of Hindus was started as a tentative measure) explained the oppression and cruelty exercised by the authorities upon the Hindu public. The Guru was very much touched on hearing these details and was in a sorry and pensive state when Gobind Rai his son, then about nine years old, chanced to come there. Seeing his father in that condition he asked the cause and insisted upon knowing the details. When the matter was explained to him, he asked his father what the remedy was to free the people from that oppression. The father replied that the remedy lay in the sacrifice of some holy person. Gobind Rai then stood with folded hands and said, "O Lord, who is holier than thyself who

might come forward to save the people? What goodwill accrue of thy head if it cannot serve to save the oppressed?"

On hearing these remarks from the mouth of a child of nine addressed to his father, the whole congregation was wonder-struck, but the father was highly pleased and embraced him. He was gratified to find that he had a worthy son who could fully carry out and accomplish all his programmes. The Guru then told the assembly that they need not be afraid of anything as everything would be set right. The Hindus then under his directions, petitioned the Emperor that he should not be hard upon them and that they were ready to embrace Islam if the Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur accepted Islam. The petition suggested that the Emperor should induce him to adopt that religion and if he did so the whole Hindu population of the Panjab would gladly follow his example. On receipt of this petition, the Emperor was highly gratified as he thought that the mere conversion of one man would automatically accomplish his wicked design. An official was deputed to escort the Guru to Delhi with the honours due to his position. The Guru then was at Anandpur, and before the Imperial Officer reached him, he gave necessary instructions to Gobind Rai and started for Agra with ten *sawars* on 11th *Har* V.S. 1732 (June 1675 A.D.). He halted for some days at Saifabad with his friend Sayad Saif Ali Khan. When the Imperial Officer reached Anandpur, not finding the Guru there, he reported his absence. On receipt of this report, the Emperor, in the intoxication of religious fanaticism, issued a proclamation for the arrest of the Guru with a reward of Rs. 1000. On this Sayad Saif Ali Khan and other friends proposed to keep him in concealment and dissuaded him from proceeding towards Delhi. The Guru did not agree to any of these proposals and with a specific view he went to Agra via Samana, Kaithal and Bindraban. At Agra he put up in a garden and sending for a shepherd boy who was tending his flock close by, gave him a gold ring set with diamonds to be pledged for rupees two to buy sweets with and gave a valuable shawl he wore, to wrap those sweets in.³ When

3. According to Kesar Singh Chhibar, the Guru was arrested near Rupa, See Rattan Singh Jaggi (Ed.), *Bansavali Namah Dasan Patshabian Ka*, 89, *Parkh*, Vol. II, 1972, P.U. Chandigarh. But most chroniclers mention that the Guru extensively toured Malwa and South Eastern Punjab before being arrested near Agra.—Ed.

asked by one of his Sikhs why the ring was given, when he had money with him, the Guru said that he was doing this to carry out the Will of God. The boy presented the ring to a confectioner with the request that he might be given sweets worth rupees two and gave the shawl to wrap them in. The confectioner was astonished and suspecting the boy of theft informed the Police. It was thus through that boy that the Guru was traced and taken to the Kotwal who sent him to Delhi. The Emperor received him with marks of kindness and treated him very politely and respectfully. Then he tried with all sorts of hopes and promises to persuade the Guru to embrace the religion of the Arabian Prophet, but he would not. His Majesty then had many religious disputations (discourses !) with him, but the Guru replied that he must follow the religion of God and not of those who were made by Him. That his was the natural religion, and he was to remain in the form and shape in which God had produced him. Among other things he added that circumcision was a human device and not divine, and that if it had been divine the Almighty must have circumcised man before his birth. He pointed out that circumcision was against God's will and that the act was punishable, as in cases of disobedience to temporal authorities. He also informed him that the Emperor was acting against the Will of God as the Emperor was trying to make one religion out of two, whereas God was wishing to make three out of the same. The Guru proved this assertion by igniting a heap of five maunds of pepper. The heap burned for twenty-four hours and when the ashes were sifted, three pepper pods came out whole and intact, upon which the Guru said that the three religions namely, Hinduism, Islam and Sikhism were sure to survive like the three pepper pods saved in the pile of fire. On hearing this and similar discourses, the Emperor was highly inflamed and told the Guru that his refusal would bring doom for him to an ignominious and cruel death to suffer to which the Guru expressed his complete willingness. He was then subjected to various tortures.

When the tortures practised upon the Guru were intolerable, Mati Das, a faithful Sikh, blamed the Guru for too much humility while he was capable of destroying the Mughal Empire. The Guru replied that he was abiding by the Will of

God and that he was going to sacrifice his head in order to prove that the rulers were false, unjust and incapacitated for further sway, and that after fulfilling the word of Guru Nanak, the sacrifice would end the Muhammadan rule in India.

A short time before the fateful day, the Guru sent a message to his son enjoining upon him to remain at Anandpur and to grieve not at what was going to happen with a view to put a stop at the domination of oppression. The message was received with calmness by the son and when his mother and grandmother began to grieve, he consoled them, adding that "We will destroy the Turks." When he was told not to say so, he reiterated that so was the Will of the Almighty and was not a matter for concealment.

A few days before his death, the Guru sent a collection of *shaloks* or hymns, which he had composed during his imprisonment to his son, and in order to test his capability wrote the following *shalok* which is numbered; 53

ਬਲੁ ਛੁਟਕਿਓ ਬੰਧਨ ਪਰੇ ਕਛੁ ਨ ਹੋਤ ਉਪਾਇ ॥

ਕਹੁ ਨਾਨਕ ਅਬ ਓਟ ਹਰਿ ਗਜ ਜਿਉ ਹੋਹੁ ਸਹਾਇ ॥

Bal(u) chhutkio baṁdhan pare kachhū na hot upāe.

Kahu Nānak ab oṭ Har(i) gaj jio boh(u) sabāe.

My strength is gone, I am confined and have no alternative.

Says Nanak, God is now my refuge;

He will help me as He did the elephant.

The son replied by the following *shalok* bearing No. 54 in the hymns of the 9th Guru in the Holy Scripture.⁴

ਬਲੁ ਹੋਆ ਬੰਧਨ ਛੁਟੇ ਸਭੁ ਕਿਛੁ ਹੋਤ ਉਪਾਇ ॥

ਨਾਨਕ ਸਭੁ ਕਿਛੁ ਤੁਮਰੈ ਹਾਥ ਮੈ ਤੁਮ ਹੀ ਹੋਤ ਸਹਾਇ ॥

Bal(u) hoā baṁdhan chhuṭe sabh(u) kichh(u) hot upāe.

Nānak sabh(u) kichh(u) tumrai hāth mai tum hī hot sabāe.

Thou had got the strength; thine imprisonment is released, and thou hast every resource;

Nanak, everything is in thy power and it is only thou who can assist thyself.

4. According to the order of Guru Arjan Dev this collection was incorporated in the holy Granth.

On receipt of this reply the Guru was delighted and remarked that he had in Gobind Rai a worthy son who would be able to accomplish his mission. Thereafter he sent for five *paisas* and a coconut and placing them in front of himself, he meditated on his son, bowed to him and dispatched them to him in token of his succession to the spiritual sway under the order established by Guru Nanak.

The Emperor continued to try all sorts of hopes, promises and threats, but to no avail. Persecutions of all sorts, an idea of which makes us shudder even at this distant period, were practised. At last, Emperor is said to have asked the Guru to work some miracle, if he were a true *faqir* or embrace Islam. The Guru replied that to work miracles amounted to working the judgement of God, and to embrace the religion of Muhammad was to lose faith in God and that he, therefore, preferred death to either. He prepared to meet his sentence of death, and was executed on the 13th *Maghar* V.S. 1732 (December 1675 A.D.). He was taken out of his cage and allowed to have his ablutions at a neighbouring well.⁵ Thereafter he sat under a banyan tree (*Bobar*) and performed his prayers as usual. Then at the hint of the Guru, the executioner, a Sayad, gave him a blow of the sword which severed his head.

As soon as the blow fell upon the Guru, consternation prevailed among those present on the spot, and in midst thereof the head, notwithstanding all precautions to guard it, was adroitly taken possession of by a Sikh who took it immediately to Guru Gobind Rai at Anandpur. On hearing the details of the persecutions undergone by Guru Teg Bahadur, the assembly began to weep, but Guru Gobind Rai consoled them and

5. That well and the banyan tree are still extant, close to Kotwali or Police Station in the town of Delhi and on the spot of execution stands the well known shrine of Sisganj. Some time after the execution of the Guru, a Masjid was built on the spot, but afterwards about 1775 A.D. under orders of the Emperor, it was, notwithstanding the general opposition of the Moslem population of the town, demolished by Sardar Baghel Singh of Chhalaundi and the Gurdwara constructed in its stead. After that the Moslems built another Masjid on the northern side of the Gurdwara in respect of which a civil suit was instituted which was ultimately decided by the Chief Court of the Panjab and the Masjid dismantled about 1865 A.D.

forbade them to weep. He said that there should be no mourning for his father, as he had assumed human birth to preserve the Truth, and that having duly discharged his duty, he had returned to his heavenly home. After consoling the members of his family and other people who had assembled on the occasion, the funeral obsequies were duly performed and the head was cremated on a pyre of sandalwood. Hymns were chanted then by the congregation.

At Delhi, while the head was missing, measures were adopted to prevent the removal of the headless body. Soon after the death of the Guru a dust-storm arose and the *Lubanas* of a village at a distance of about 3 miles from the town of Delhi, who purposely brought their oxen loaded with sacks and carts through the Chandni Chowk, drove them towards the Kotwali and passed by the spot where the Guru's body was. They took up and placed the body in a cart and succeeded in carrying it to their village, notwithstanding the search which was instituted by the Imperial Police to find it out. It was feared, as could naturally be expected, that if the cremation ceremony was openly performed, it was sure to be detected and punished severely. Therefore, in order to escape suspicion, a funeral pyre was erected beneath the roof of a house which was also set on fire alongwith the pyre. The shrine of Rakabganj⁶ now stands on the spot.

6. When the cremation was over, the ashes were put in a *gagar*, a metal basin, and buried on the spot. Some time afterwards the Muhammadans erected a mosque there. In about V.S. 1832 (1775 A.D.) when Sardar Baghel Singh of Chhalaundi made with the permission of the Emperor's a general inquiry about the Sikh shrines in the town of Delhi or its neighbourhood (vide *Panth Parkash*, 2nd Edition, page 680 to 687), the Sikhs claimed the spot as their own, but the Muhammadans contested their title and strongly objected to the dismantling of the mosque. Parties stood with swords drawn and a bloody conflict was to ensue when an end was put to it on the condition that if the *gagar* containing ashes were found beneath the mosque, the institution should be handed over to the Sikhs. Otherwise the Sikhs should rebuilt the mosque at their own expense. The assertion of the Sikhs proved to be correct and the Temple of Rakabganj, which is still extant, was constructed on the spot. The Emperor granted a lease and *Jagir* for the maintenance of the shrine. Two *Sanads* dated the 15th day of Muharram-ul-Haram in the 29th year of the reign of Emperor Shah Alam, (about 1788 A.D.) were granted. One directs that Sardar Baghel Singh be put in possession of land without any hitch for the construction of a Gurdwara and a garden. The other specifies the land; 101 *bighas* and 5 *biswas pukhta*—63.28 Acres with 3 wells, land revenue free, These *Sanads* in original, are still in possession of the *Mahant* of the Temple and have been inspected by the author.

The majority of the authors say that when Aurangzeb insisted upon it, the Guru told him that he was going to work a miracle. He was then brought before the Emperor and all the courtiers were sent for to witness the performance. He said that the duty of a man was simply to pray and obey the commands of the Lord, but as His Majesty wanted to witness a miracle, he was going to comply with his orders. He then wrote on a piece of paper and tied it around his neck, declaring that it was charmed⁷ and that the effect of a sharp sword falling upon it, should be tried. The executioner was summoned to test the effect of the charm. When the blow was given, the head of the Guru, to the amazement of the Court, fell into the lap of a Sikh who had arrived from Anandpur to take it there. The paper was then read and it contained the following words : *Sir dādam magar sar-i-Khuda na dādam*; meaning that he had given his head but not God's secret. When the courtiers saw what had happened, they were struck with horror and surprise. The Emperor was disgusted and ordered the crowd to be dispersed. This cruel execution echoed throughout the empire and served as a fatal stroke to the Muhammadan rule in India. In order to give an impetus to the whole Sikh Nation as a body, such a sacrifice was essential and it inflamed their religious passions and sowed that seed of hatred of the tyrannical Mussalman power which took deep root, developing into a formidable and invincible enemy, changing inoffensive quietists into dauntless warriors.

Teg Bahadur reigned as Guru for 11 years, 7 months and 5 days and was put to martyrdom at the age of 54 years, 7 months and 4 days.

Guru Gobind Singh in *Bachittar Natak* with reference to his father's execution says :

It is very interesting to note that when King-Emperor George V visited India in 1911, he proclaimed at his Coronation *Darbar* which was held at Delhi on the 12th December of that year, that the Capital of the British Empire in India was transferred from Calcutta to Delhi, and it so happens that after various schemes for the laying out of New Capital, the Viceregal Lodge is to be built close to the Gurdwara at Rakabganj and the Secretariat buildings at a few yards from the walls of that Gurdwara.

7. It was really a charm because it was destined to uproot the Muhammadan rule in India and the cruel tyranny alongwith it.

ਧਰਮ ਹੇਤ ਸਾਕਾ ਜਿਨਿ ਕੀਆ ॥

ਸੀਸੁ ਦੀਆ ਪਰ ਸਿਰਰੁ ਨ ਦੀਆ ॥

Dharm het sākā jin(i) kīā.

Sīs(u) dīā par sirar(u) na dīā.

"He suffered martyrdom for the sake of Truth.

He gave his head, but swerved not from his determination."

One day the Guru was on the top storey of his prison. The Emperor saw him there and fancied that he was looking at the palace where the Imperial female folks were. Next day he sent for the Guru and charged him with the impropriety of his action. The Guru replied, "On the top storey of my prison, I was not looking at thy females, but I was looking in the direction of Europeans who are coming from beyond the seas to tear down thy *pardabs* and annihilate thy Empire."⁸ The Sikhs made it their battle-cry when assaulting Delhi in 1857 under General John Nicholson,⁹ and it was thus that the prophecy of the Guru was gloriously fulfilled.

8. Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, Vol. II.

9. There is no truth in such-like stories which were made current during the British rule. See Kartar Singh, *Jiwan Katha Guru Gobind Singh*, 65, Lahore Book Shop, Ludhiana, 1979.—Ed.

CHAPTER X

GURU GOBIND SINGH¹

When Guru Teg Bahadur went to Assam with Raja Ram Singh of Jaipur, he left his family at Patna, a large town of antiquarian interest, in the Province of Bihar, and it was there that (Guru) Gobind Singh, his only son was born on 13th *Poh*, V.S. 1723 (end of 1666 A.D.). Guru Teg Bahadur, on returning from Assam, halted for a short time with his family, and then came back to the Panjab, leaving them behind at Patna. In V.S. 1729 (1672 A.D.) when he was about 6 years old, Gobind Singh was sent for by his father to Anandpur. He came through Susram, Chhapri, Ara, Jampur, Kanshi or Benaras, Bisnath, Kalbhairon, Manikruka, Dasasmedh, Barnasangam, Mirzapur, Ajudhia, Lucknow, Chandausi, Khurja, Mathura, Bindraban, Gokal, Hardwar, Laknaur and arrived at Anandpur on the *Basant Panchmi* in *Magh* V.S. 1729 (February-March 1673 A.D.).

When he was a mere child before his accession, (Guru) Gobind Singh used to play the commander, whilst his playmates acted as soldiers. His toys were imitation bows, arrows and other arms. He used to construct such toys himself of reeds and similar materials. His favourite games were sham fights, military exercises and manoeuvres. He organised regular troops of boys. For their pay *Kauris* and pice were disbursed and they were feasted with sweetmeats. He also acted as a judge holding regular courts, while his playmates appeared before him as litigants. All that he did, and the manner in which he played his part, was astonishing and wonderful.

1. The only son of Guru Tegh Bahadur was named Gobind Rai, though the author has referred him as Gobind Singh. The suffix 'Rai' was dropped and replaced with 'Singh' in 1699 at the time of creation of the Khalsa Order through the institution of *Panj Ptaras*.—Ed.

When he reached Anandpur, the Sikhs learnt the description and forms of his favourite pastimes and, therefore, among other things, they presented him with toy-arms.

During his childhood, Gobind Singh proved that his disposition was that of a brave combatant, and he evinced all the propensities of a military character. Soon after he reached Anandpur, his father appointed Bajar Singh Rajput, and others to teach him riding and the military craft. (Guru) Gobind Singh also had a great interest for knowledge. Qazi Pir Muhammad was appointed to teach him Persian and Bhai Gurbakhsh—Gurmukhi.

At an early age, he began to show signs of a high spirit and noble and sublime aims. When less than 9 years old he suggested to his father to sacrifice his head for the sake of truth and righteousness. And it was at about that age that when the question of *jeneu* or the Brahmanical thread was referred to him, he declared that the sword was to serve him as the sacred thread,² and that his mission was to punish and exterminate the oppressor.

When his father obtained the crown of martyrdom, Gobind Singh, at the age of 9 years, was, with great state, installed in the office of Guru, according to the old and recognised custom, on the fifth day of the first half of *Phagan*, V.S. 1732 (1676 A.D.).

As soon as he assumed the mantle of the Sikh *Panth* he issued an edict that presents in the form of arms and horses would please him. Thus numerous presents of arms and horses began to come in. Brave and courageous combatants, who were in any way oppressed by the Emperor Aurangzeb, began to flock around him and were equipped and drilled with military discipline.

Following the example of Guru Hargobind, Guru Gobind Singh openly and publicly preached, holding daily a regular *Darbar* in the *Akal Bunga* at Amritsar.³ That practice had died out after Guru Hargobind's death, but Gobind Singh resumed it immediately on his succession.

2. This story seems to be improbable as Guru Nanak had abhorred the custom of wearing *Jeneu* much earlier.—Ed.

3. No evidence is traceable which testifies the visit of Guru Gobind Singh to *Akal Bunga*.—Ed.

In V.S. 1737 (1680 A.D.) Raja Rattan Rai of Assam came on pilgrimage to Anandpur and in addition to the tithe (one-tenth of income) and other valuable and precious offerings, he presented to the Guru, (1) a Panchkalla or a combination of 5 arms, viz. a lance, a rifle, a club, a dagger and a pistol; (2) a fine and beautiful elephant (with a whitish streak from his head to the tail), called *Parsadi*, and well trained in serving his master in diverse ways; (3) 5 swift and five hippopotamuses and (4) a precious throne from which puppets emerged and played on pressing a spring. The Raja halted at Anandpur for five months and was highly gratified with the divine instruction he received from the young Guru.

In *Baisakh* V.S. 1738 (1681 A.D.) one Duni Chand of Kabul presented a magnificent tent. The amount of income from offerings began to rise a great deal. With the increase of income, the expenses also increased. The *langar* was extended to a much larger scale than before and the number of retainers multiplied greatly.

Observing the prosperity and progress of the Guru, the hill Rajas were wonder-struck. Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur, in whose territory the Guru was then residing, became jealous and sought some excuse to get certain valuable articles from the Guru. He, therefore, proposed to borrow (never to return) among other items the elephant called *Parsadi*. He deputed his *Wazir* Parmanand, for the purpose, but the Guru replied that it was not customary to lend the offerings of the Sikhs. Then the Raja sent one of his relations to renew the demand, but in vain. Being thus foiled in his design, the Raja personally came to the Guru stayed with him for a few days and then asked for the loan, but got the same short and cut reply as before. He felt greatly offended and left for his capital with a message to the Guru that he should send the articles he wanted after him; in default of which he was liable to expulsion from the Raja's territory. The Guru replied to the messenger that he was still of the same opinion as before and that nobody could command him except the one Creator who was Immortal. This reply enraged the Raja who attacked the Guru in V.S. 1739 (1682 A.D.) but was routed leaving many dead in the field. Then he planned another attack but was dissuaded by his counsellors on various grounds.

Before further recording the events chronologically, we must acquaint the reader with the marriages of Guru Gobind Singh and the issues he had from them. He had three wives,⁴ Ladies Jito, Sundri, and Sahib Devi.⁵

Lady Jito was married on 15th *Jeth*, V.S. 1730 (1673 A.D.). She was the daughter of a Sikh of Lahore, but the marriage was celebrated at a village of that name which was newly founded for the purpose and peopled by Guru Teg Bahadur, about 10 miles from Anandpur.

On 1st *Baisakh*, V.S. 1741 (1684 A.D.) one Ram Saran, Khatri of Lahore, proposed the hand of his daughter, Lady Sundri to Guru Gobind Singh, and the marriage was celebrated on the 7th of the same month. The Guru had no desire for this second marriage but his mother pressed him to enter into this alliance.

Early in V.S. 1757 (1700 A.D.) one Ramu, Khatri of Rohtas, brought his daughter Sahib Devi, to the Guru and offered her hand to him. The Guru declined, but Ramu very humbly and earnestly represented that she was brought up with a view to be given him in marriage, and his refusal would put him to an eternal shame and she would remain unmarried during her whole life, because, having been, from her childhood, dedicated to him, was addressed by every one as *Mata Ji* (mother) and no one would dare accept her hand. He emphasized his solicitation with the request that the Guru would allow her to serve in his kitchen. The Guru considering all sides of the question coupled with the most humble petition of the devotee, agreed to accept the offer, and the marriage ceremony was solemnised on the offer, and the marriage ceremony was solemnised on the 18 *Baisakh* 1757.

Guru Gobind Singh had four sons. The eldest, Ajit Singh by Mata Sundri, born on the fourth day of bright half of *Magh* V.S. 1744 (1688 A.D.). Three sons were born to Mata Jito ji as follows :

1. Zorawar Singh, born on 21st *Chet*, V.S. 1747 (1691 A.D.).

4. As yet no conclusive evidence has become available about the consorts of the Guru.—Ed.

5. She is also called Sahib Kaur.

2. Jujhar Singh, born on 6th *Maghar*, V.S. 1753 (1696 A.D.)
3. Fateh Singh, born on 4th *Phagan*, V.S. 1755 (1699 A.D.).

Mata Sahib Devi asked for issue, but she was told that the whole Khalsa nation would be her children and consequently she was hailed the mother of Khalsa. On initiation therefore, every Khalsa becomes the progeny of his spiritual parents, Guru Gobind Singh and Mata Sahib Devi.

To resume the countinuity of our history, the Guru, on being invited by the Raja, visited the Nahan territory in *Jeth*, V.S. 1741, and at the request of the Raja founded the village of Paonta on the bank of the Jamna river in *Kartik* V.S. 1741 (1684 A.D.).

The Guru went on enlisting and increasing the number of his troops and on 22nd *Sawan*, V.S. 1742 (1685 A.D.) on the recommendation of his friend, Pir Budhu Shah of Sadhaura, he employed 500 Pathans who had been discharged from the imperial service.

Guru Gobind Singh was a great scholar in Gurmukhi, Sanskrit and Persian. He respected and patronised men of letters. He was as fond of letters as of exercises in arms and military tactics. He intelligently grasped knowledge of all sorts, and showed a high ideal and a lofty spirit. Immediately after his succession he declared the creation of a new religion⁶—*Khalsa*. He designed to create a warrior-spirit as well as a spirit inclined to education.⁷ He undertook to awaken his followers to a new life, and to give to the broad and general institutions of Nanak, an aim and precision. At the same time he devised means to give a permanent and eternal footing to his designs. He asked a Pandit, Raghunath, to teach Sanskrit to Sikhs, but he declined on the ground that, being members of low castes, they were debarred from the privilege of such education. The

6. Khalsa was not a new religion but the manifestation of the ideal and fulfilment of the mission of Guru Nanak.—Ed.

7. The spiritual and temporal aspects of life of a Sikh commenced with Guru Nanak though spiritual remained more prominent than temporal. Guru Hargobind Sahib brought temporal in the limelight too since it had become the need of the hour. This concept got its final shape at the hands of Guru Gobind Singh ji.—Ed.

Guru was then offended and prophesied that in the near future, those so-called low castes, will become teachers of *Vedas* and *Shastras* to the Brahmin. He despatched in *Maghar*, V.S. 1742 (1685 A.D.) five Sikhs, in the guise of *Brahmcharis* to Benaras to learn Sanskrit in the Sanskrit Academy there. They came back to Anandpur in V.S. 1752 (1695 A.D.) and served as teachers to the Sikhs. Under the directions of the Guru many important Persian and Sanskrit books were translated into *Bhasha*, the vernacular of the country. He had employed 52 poets and scholars for new compositions or translating classics from archaic languages into *Bhasha*.

As a specimen of the education prevalent among the Sikhs, we may quote the case of a poet named Chandan, who at the end of V.S. 1758 (1702 A.D.) asked the Guru to explain certain intricate and complex verses. The Guru indicated to one Dhanna Singh, a grass-cutter, adding that if the Sikh failed, the Guru himself would expound them. The manner in which the grass-cutter explained and interpreted the verses, astonished the arrogant poet and all others who were present at the time. From this our readers can judge how far education was cultivated among the Sikhs under the direction of the Guru himself. It is quite enough to wipe out the erroneous idea entertained by the foolish that ignorant and illiterate men can wield arms better than the educated, as later on we will proceed to illustrate how the educated Guru and his literate followers conducted the warfare and gained the victory over the enemy.

The defeat sustained by Raja Bhim Chand in V.S. 1739 ever after rankled in his bosom and he courted the aid of the other Hill Rajas, such as Goler, Katoch, Jaswal, Kathgarh, Hindur to make a combined effort to defeat and expel the Sikhs from their country. Therefore they all, at the head of a large army attacked Paonta where the Guru then was. At the same time they bribed the band of 500 Pathans employed in V.S. 1742 and, in conspiracy with them, proposed to fall on the Guru's treasury. However, the Guru learnt of the treason, whereupon the Pathans deserted him and joined the invader. At that juncture 500 *Udasis*, who had long been feeding upon the income of the Guru likewise deserted him. The Guru now had hardly 2,500 horse and foot to encounter the enemy, and entrenched

himself on the banks of the Jamna at about 6 kos from Paonta. Pir Budhu Shah of Sadhaura, having heard of the disloyalty of the Pathans, whom he had recommended for enlistment, joined the Guru at the head of 2,000 disciples and his four sons. A pitched battle⁸ was fought on the 18th *Baisakh* V.S. 1744 (April 1687 A.D.) and both sides suffered seriously, but the loss inflicted by the Sikhs was considerable. When the battle was raging, the Guru mounted two wooden guns on a rising ground which commanded the position of the enemy. Those guns were loaded with stones, and as soon as showers of stones began to rain upon the hill-men, they took to their heels in confusion. The Sikhs pursued them with a heavy slaughter and returned with enormous booty and trophies of war. The Guru gives a vivid account of the fight in the *Bachittar Natak* and describes how skill and bravery were displayed by the Sikh warriors on that occasion. The service of all those who fought for the Guru, were suitably rewarded. The *Pir* was granted credentials, half of the Guru's turban as a mark of distinction and 5,000 rupees for his men in recognition of their services. The *Pir's* descendants are honoured and respected by the Sikhs and will ever command that respect as long as Sikhism lasts.

After the fight was over, the Guru halted at Paonta for about four months and then came to Anandpur. On his arrival there, he established a workshop in which guns, rifles and arms of all sorts were manufactured. He also established, during the following two years, the forts of Anandgarh, Lohgarh, Kesgarh and Fatehgarh to protect himself against the attacks of his hill neighbours. Raja Bhim Chand asked for pardon and concluded peace with the Guru.

At about the same time the Emperor had deputed his army to collect revenue from the Hill Rajas, because they had defaulted payment. The Rajas wanted to pay by instalments, whereas the King's Officers wanted the whole. When hard pressed the Rajas solicited aid and got troops from the Guru, upon which the imperial forces were routed and some Rajas who sided with them were killed and wounded. On this the Governor of Lahore despatched his son, Rustam Khan, with

8. This is a famous battle fought at Bhaṅgāni.—Ed.

2,000 horsemen to surprise the Guru at Anandpur, but he took to flight after a nominal fight and suffered much owing to the inclemency of the weather. The discomfiture inflamed the Governor of Lahore. He now despatched Ghulam Husain Khan (a tyrannical and hot-tempered leader) at the head of 2,000 horsemen and foot soldiers. Many Hill Rajas joined him. Before he came to Anandpur, however, he was obliged to fight with a Hill Raja, who got aid from the Guru and completely defeated the invader. Many leaders, including Ghulam Husain Khan, fell in the field. The Governor of Lahore was exasperated and despatched another army, which also returned unsuccessful. When the case of the Hill Rajas, in connection with the revenue collections, was decided, an army was detailed from Lahore to subdue the Guru. The imperial forces drove the Sikhs from Anandpur and plundering the town, encamped at the village of Bhalan, about five *kos* from that town. During the night, the Guru made a smart attack and dispersed the imperial force with heavy loss. Most of their baggage fell into the hands of the Sikhs. When the news of this disaster reached Lahore, the Governor proposed to send another force to Anandpur but subsequently used his better discretion to abandon that idea.

In V.S. 1753 the Guru tested the faith of the Brahmans. He gave them a grand feast and sent invitations to distant regions. After a meal, he promised to give one rupee to each vegetarian and a gold *mohar* to each meat-eater and drinker of liquor. Then the majority joined the consumers of meat and liquor and only a few were firm in their faith and abstained from them. The Guru was very angry with those who forsook their faith for the gold and dismissed them each with Rs. 5 cash. However he treated the vegetarians with kindness for their firmness, and paid them 25 gold *mohars* each keeping them as his guests for many more days.

In addition to their decline in social moral as well as martial degradation, the Hindus had become polytheistic and idolaters, whilst the mountaineers were firm believers in goddesses or *devis*. The priests propounded the faith with mythical stories. The Guru since an early age had planned the arousing of the martial spirit among his followers, the creation of the new order of Khalsa Commonwealth, but his ideas met

with opposition from the priests who, as heretofore, had no concern with the welfare of their country but the furtherance of their own selfish ends. Overcome by the strong and irrefutable arguments of the Guru, they suggested the performance of a grand *Homa* ceremony for the propitiation of the goddess Durga so that she might appear to bless the creation of the proposed Khalsa brotherhood. At the same time they misled the Sikhs, imposing upon them the fiction that the feats of gallantry performed by Bhim and Arjuna, as described in the Mahabharata, were realities and not myths, as they had blessings of the goddess Durga. The Sikhs were thus decoyed to make offerings and burnt sacrifices to such a goddess that she might bless them with invincible power. The Guru had no faith in Durga or any goddess but for various reasons agreed to the priests proposal so that their objections might be removed and they might be convinced of the absurdity and futility of their whims. The general practice of the Sikh Gurus had been to convince the people of the truth both by precept and example, and the same method was adopted by Guru Gobind Singh. Pandits were invited to conduct and accomplish the ceremony and Rs. 2,50,000 were provided for the necessary expenses. A high hill close to Naina Devi was selected and the recitation of hymns or the *Homa* ceremony began in *Chet* V.S. 1753 (1697 A.D.). It continued for a full year and ended in *Chet* V.S. 1754 (1698 A.D.). The Pandits went on deluding the Guru and keeping him off with false promises as to the time of the appearance of the goddess to bless, but on the day when the performance was to end and the Devi was represented as coming in sight, the Guru asked the Head Pandit the time of her becoming visible. In order to conceal the truth and his own mendacity, he resorted to a dodge. He represented to the Guru that as soon as she manifested herself she would, for her propitiation, require the sacrifice of some holy person, and hinted at the eldest son of the Guru. The Pandit thought that the Guru would now give up the idea of seeing the Devi, but the Guru understanding the trick, said that the Head Pandit was the most holy person, and, in his opinion, a fit and worthy person for such a sacrifice. The Pandit could not refuse openly, and on the pretence of bathing as preparatory to such a

sacrifice, *skulked* away never to return. The other Pandits were afraid that it might fall upon them to serve as the sacrificial human and secretly cleared off. When they had thus gone away, the Guru stood with a naked double-edged sword in his hand and put at once all the *Homa* materials, such as *ghi*, sesamum and other things oily or otherwise awaiting consumption, in the great fire pit. As their quantity was large, they produced a bonfire and set the locality ablaze. He then declared to the congregation that the glittering sword⁹ he had in his hand, was the *Devi* or the power which was destined to destroy and annihilate the oppressor and the wrong-doer. At the same time he proved that there was no *Devi*, who could appear in person to bless.

After the *Homa* performance was over, a grand feast was arranged, to which all the Brahmans and others were invited, except one named Kesho who was omitted by an oversight. However, he was invited afterwards when the Sikhs had partaken of the food. He was so offended that he refused to eat; and he declared the food to have become contaminated and impure. The Guru wrote a letter to him which contained the following *Svaiya*:

ਜੁੱਧ ਜਿਤੇ ਇਨਹੀ ਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ, ਇਨਹੀ ਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਸੁ ਦਾਨ ਕਰੇ ॥
 ਅਘ ਅਉਘ ਟਰੇ ਇਨਹੀ ਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ, ਇਨਹੀ ਕੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਫੁਨ ਧਾਮ ਭਰੇ ॥
 ਇਨਹੀ ਕੇ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ਸੁ ਬਿਦਿਆ ਲਈ, ਇਨਹੀ ਕੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਸਭ ਸਤ੍ਰ ਮਰੇ ॥
 ਇਨਹੀ ਕੀ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾ ਕੇ ਸਜੇ ਹਮ ਹੈ, ਨਹੀ ਮੋ ਸੋ ਗਰੀਬ ਕਰੋਰ ਪਰੇ ॥੨॥
 ਸੇਵ ਕਰੀ ਇਨਹੀ ਕੀ ਭਾਵਤ, ਅਉਰ ਕੀ ਸੇਵ ਸੁਹਾਤ ਨ ਜੀ ਕੋ ॥
 ਦਾਨ ਦਯੋ ਇਨਹੀ ਕੋ ਭਲੋ, ਅਰੁ ਆਨ ਕੋ ਦਾਨ ਨਾ ਲਾਗਤ ਨੀਕੋ ॥
 ਆਗੈ ਫਲੈ ਇਨਹੀ ਕੋ ਦਯੋ, ਜਗ ਮੈ ਜਸੁ, ਅਉਰ ਦਯੋ ਸਭ ਫੀਕੋ ॥
 ਮੋ ਗੁਰ ਮੈ ਤਨ ਤੇ ਮਨ ਤੇ, ਸਿਰ ਲਉ ਧਨ ਹੈ ਸਭ ਹੀ ਇਨਹੀ ਕੋ ॥੩॥

Juddh jite inhī ke prasād(i) inhī ke prasād(i) dān kare.
Agh augh tare inhī ke prasād(i) inhī kī kripā phun dhām
bhare.

Inhī ke prasād(i) su bidīā laī, inhī kī kripā sabh satr mare.
Inhī kī kripā ke saje ham hai, nahī mo so garīb karor pare.
Sev karī inhī kī bhāvat, aur kī sev subāt na jī ko.
Dān dayo inhī ko bhalo, ar(u) ān ko dān nā lāgat nīko.

9. A reference to the nomenclature of arms *Shashtra Nam Mala*, clearly proves what he meant by it.

*Āgai phalai inhī ko dayo, jag mai jas(u), aur dayo sabh phiko.
Mo grab mai tan te man te, Sir lau dhan bai sabh hī inhī ko.
(Pātshāhi 10)*

I have won the battles through their (the Sikhs') favour,
and through their favour I have given alms.

Thousands of troubles have been removed through
their favour and through their favour again my house
is replenished.

Through their favour I have acquired knowledge,
through their kindness all my enemies have been
killed.

Through their favour exalted I am, otherwise there are
millions of ordinary men like myself.

To serve them pleases me, no other service delights me.
To give them a gift is well, a gift to others seems not
well.

Charity to them will be fruitful in the next world while
it brings honour in this world. All charity to others
pleases me not.

Whatever is in my house, from my body and mind to
my head, is their property.

At the same time he informed the priests that they must treat the Sikhs with kindness and that for the future, the latter were liberated from the Brahminical hold. The carrier of this letter, Bhai Nand Lal, explained to Kesho and other Brahmans that the Guru's was the principle of the common brotherhood of man. He was going to raise the Sikhs to one and the same high caste, Khalsa. Thus their pride was humbled and they partook of the food which they already declared to have become impure.

Soon after this feast was over, Guru Gobind Singh retired from the busy life and lived in seclusion, entirely giving himself up to contemplation and worship of the Almighty. The masses began to talk of him differently then, saying that his mind had suffered because of the non appearance of the *devi* or the like.

In *Chet* V.S. 1755 (1699 A.D.) he issued an edict for the Sikhs from all regions to assemble. On the first day of the month of *Baisakh*, V.S. 1756 (1699 A.D.) he held a grand *darbar*, and

in the manner explained in Chapter XXVIII, he chose five faithful (Sikhs) volunteers, whom he baptised with the *Khanda Pabul* (a form of initiation) and proclaimed them to be Singhs.¹⁰

After that he got himself initiated by those very Singhs and named himself Gobind Singh instead of Gobind Rai as heretofore. By so doing he became their disciple and brought the initiator and the initiated on the same level. The Sikhs thus initiated designated as Singhs and formed the rudiment of the grand order of the Khalsa Commonwealth. The faith was propagated with wonderful rapidity and its further details will be found in the Chapter referred to above.

Shortly after the Khalsa was created, one Umrao Singh killed a lion while hunting. Its skin, by order of the Guru, was sewn on the back of a donkey. The animal was then set loose and no cultivator could drive him out of his fields, being afraid that it was a lion. As long as he remained silent, nobody dared approach him. When he brayed, his real identity was known, upon which his immediate expulsion was sure and certain. By this example the Guru explained that a 'Singh' was equivalent to a lion and that the Singhs would continue to be strong, awful and invincible like a lion as long as they conformed to and observed the commandments, keeping themselves aloof from their caste prejudice as well as from their timid and idolatrous Hindu neighbours. He inculcated this principle of separation through this example, because the laxity of maxims which were impressed upon their minds, was sure to overshadow them and degrade them to the same low and contemptible level from which they had been raised. This example is said to have worked a great deal on the minds of the congregation.

The *Masands*, or tithe-collectors, and their deputies had become very obnoxious to the people. They persecuted and treated the Sikhs harshly when on their tours for the collection of taxes. Moreover, they began to embezzle the presents intended for the Guru. Several complaints were received against their doings, but at the times of which we are speaking, their intolerable practices were represented to the Guru in the form of a skit. He thoroughly understood the object of the play and

10. Literally 'Singh' means 'Lion'.

dissolved the institution with the excommunication of the deputies. Those, who, on inquiry, were found guilty of cruel treatment, were thrown into the dungeon or killed by being thrown into boiling oil, or otherwise suitably punished. The Guru handsomely rewarded the mimics who had enacted the drama with so much skill and courage. Thenceforth the office of the tithe-collectors (*masands*) was abolished, and the Sikhs were required to bring to the Guru whatever they conveniently could at the times when they presented themselves before the Guru.

There occurred some petty disputes between the Sikhs and the hill men about the supply of grass and fuel. The Rajas undertook the supply of these things but failed, and therefore the Sikhs were again constrained to go to the forest for that purpose. Thereupon in *Assu* V.S. 1757 (1700 A.D.) the Rajas, Bhim Chand and Alam Chand, with the help of the Rajas of Kahlur and Hindur, attacked the Sikhs in the forest, but were completely routed. Similarly they made several unsuccessful attempts on the Sikhs while collecting grass and fuel in the jungle. Then Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur convened a conference of the neighbouring Rajas and held a council of war against the Guru. The Rajas of Kahlur, Hindur, Sirmor, Jaswal, Katoch, Guler, Daraul, Parauli, Dadwal, Srinagar, Kathgarh and other states agreed to fight the Sikhs. They marched with their combined forces 20,000 strong upon Anandpur and besieged it in *Maghar* V.S. 1757 (1700 A.D.). The Guru defended himself with 8,000 men. The siege continued for two months during which the invaders sustained heavy losses at the hands of the Singhs. Being tired of it, they tried to storm-open the gate of the fort. For that purpose they prepared a well trained elephant with *tavas* (iron plates used for baking bread) fastened on his head for protection, and a sword in his trunk for rending the gate asunder. He was intoxicated with liquor as is usually the case with these brutes. One Bachittar Singh, who was deputed to encounter the animal, pierced the elephant's forehead, driving his lance deep into it, and the animal hurried back to his masters shrieking in horrible dismay and confusion. The keeper thrown down and killed and the animal began to slaughter the besiegers themselves with the very sword which

was intended for use against the Sikhs. The whole camp of the enemy presented a strange and wonderful sight. At that juncture the Sikhs made a violent sortie and dispersed the enemy.

This defeat brought the Hill Rajas to their senses, and they negotiated for peace. Among other conditions, the Guru was required to dispense with the services of his Singh combatants to a large extent, but the Guru replied that the Singhs were a part of his body and it was as impossible for him to dispense with them as it was for a bird to dispense with its wings. This reply enraged the Rajas and they attacked him again furiously. At first some of the outposts of the Singhs were captured, but were afterwards retaken with the infliction of heavy losses on the enemy. The issue was, however, uncertain and the Rajas found it next to impossible to hold their position against the Singhs and secretly applied to the Governor of Sarhind for help. The latter, with the sanction of the Emperor, despatched 2,000 troops under Yakub Khan and Ali Mardan for their help.

After the despatch of their application to Sarhind, the Rajas resorted to a stratagem. Under the protection of a dark night, they erected, in front of the fort, a cow made of flour indicating that they were his (Guru's) cow and wanted his protection. At the same time they intimated that they had no desire to fight any more and solicited the Guru to leave the fort for 10 days in order to cover their shame, so that they might retire to their respective territories. The Guru perceived their trick, but at the earnest solicitations of his mother and some of his followers, he left for Kiratpur, leaving his family behind in the fort with a proper garrison. Kiratpur is a few miles from Anandpur and on the arrival of troops there, the Guru retired in seclusion for deep meditation, abstaining from all sorts of communication for 5 days. The Sikhs named this place 'Nirmohgarh' or the fortress of disaffection.

When the Hill Rajas found that the Guru was encamping in the open and off his guard, they broke their faith and furiously attacked him. The Singhs under the command of Ajit Singh, Guru Gobind Singh's eldest son, offered unexpectedly a brave resistance and stormed their guns. The assailants then lost heart and were about to flee when the arrival of the Imperial

army raised their spirits and they resumed the fight with doubled strength and impetuosity. Both the King's Commanders fell in the field and the bloody fight closed with the fall of the night.

When the fight was in progress Guru Gobind Singh went to Basauli (at about 9 *kos* from Anandpur)¹¹ for a pleasure trip at the invitation of the Raja of that place. After his departure, Prince Ajit Singh deemed it prudent to strengthen the garrison at Anandpur and therefore evacuated Kiratpur. The enemy rejoiced at it and apparently counted this opportunity as their complete success and withdrew in triumph to their respective capitals, the imperialists coming back to Sarhind after recovering their war expenses from the Rajas.

After a short stay at Basauli and its neighbourhood the Guru came back to Anandpur and in the beginning of 1758 V.S. (1701 A.D.) Raja Bhim Chand, who had been acting as leader of confederacy of Hill Rajas in the wars, concluded peace with the Guru. A little after that the Guru visited Rawalsar, by way of Kundlu, Bilaspur and Suket. A big fair was held at Rawalsar and Sikhs flocked from distant regions. When the Guru was holding his *diwan*, a Rajput Sikh presented him with a fine double-barrelled gun. As soon as the present was made it was loaded and the Guru exclaimed that he was going to fire and would like somebody to present his own person for a target. No sooner was the demand made than several persons ran forward to be shot and struggled for precedence in obtaining the crown of martyrdom, but the gun was fired into the air. On witnessing this, the spectators, including the Hill Rajas, were drowned in amazement and wondered at the readiness with which the Sikhs desired to sacrifice their lives at the command of their Guru.

From Rawalsar, the Guru came back to Anandpur via Nadaun and Jawala Mukhi.

In V.S. 1759 (1702 A.D.) the Guru visited Kurukshetar, Jotisar, Pahoe (Pehowa), Kare, Sayana, Chamkaur and some other villages and then came back to Anandpur. Before the

11. Basauli is situated on the right bank of river Ravi in Jammu region. The chief of this place was a devotee of Guru Gobind Singh.—Ed.

Guru came to Chamkaur, Said Beg and Alif Khan, being on their way to Lahore, were encamping there with 2,000 troops. They were instigated by some of the Hill Rajas and the Pathan grandees of Ropar to fall upon the Guru unawares. The camp of the Guru was surprised in consequence, but the enemy was beaten back with heavy losses.

As this surprise warfare was chiefly the result of the wickedness of the Hill Rajas, the Guru proposed to chastise the mischief-makers. The Rajas were greatly terrified and submitted a joint petition to the Emperor Aurangzeb for help and protection. In that petition they wrote much against the Guru and tried, as is generally the case with antagonists to excite and inflame the Emperor to take serious steps. Aurangzeb then despatched Amir Khan, Najabat Khan, Haibat Khan, Said Khan, Ramzan Khan and Dina Beg Khan from Delhi and issued stringent orders to the Governor of Sarhind to capture the Guru.

When the news reached Anandpur that this large army was marching against the Guru, Sikhs from distant regions quickly flocked under his banner. The Singh Sardars moved to the front and the Muhammadan Sardars Memun Khan and Said Beg, who were in the Service of the Guru, accompanied them with alacrity. The war began on the 17th *Phagan* V.S. 1759 (February 1702 A.D.) and the fighting was violent and impetuous. Said Beg was killed fighting with Raja Hari Chand of Goler. Dina Beg Khan was wounded. Amir Khan and Haibat Khan were killed. Azim Khan and Pinda Khan, Muslim leaders, met their fate at the hands of the Guru. One of the commanders of the King's army, Said Khan, had already heard a great deal about the war capacity of the Sikhs and the personal bravery of the Guru. Now he was astonished to witness the valour and the dauntless spirit of the Singhs, and the personal bravery and resoluteness of the Guru, as well as the military skill and tact which were displayed by him on the occasion. When the fight was raging at its height, Said Khan thought of the Guru and desired, within his mind, to try his art of war with him. And his surprise may be well imagined when, at the same moment, he found the Guru standing before him with a challenge to advance to try his luck. He asked the Guru how it was possible for him to steer through the enemy without danger to his life.

The Guru replied, "I have neither friend nor foe. The whole is *Nur* (illumination) of the Lord God and the fighting is a mere play." At the same time he uttered the following verse :

ਹਿੰਦੂ ਤੁਰਕ ਬਾਦ ਮੇਂ ਪਚੇ॥
ਇਨ ਤੇ ਨਾਥ ਨਿਰਾਲੇ ਬਚੇ॥

Hindū Turk bād meṁ pache,
In te Nāth nirāle bache.

The Hindus and Turks are engaged in absurdity. But the *Naths* (*faqirs* meaning himself) are keeping aloof from them.

Hearing these words from a smiling face with a celestial voice, Said Khan was so influenced and affected that he threw down his arms, fell at the Guru's feet and retired to the jungle to meditate in seclusion, the remainder of his life to the true devotion of the Lord. The army around was astonished to witness the courage of the Guru and the wonders he was performing. They pursued him, but he passed through them with the velocity of thunder. The fighting on that day closed with the retreat of the Singhs and the entry of the enemy into the town of Anandpur. When the town was plundered, the enemy retired to a place about 5 miles from the town where they were surprised by the Singhs during the night. In a ferocious attack the Guru inflicted severe losses and routed the enemy, driving them towards Ropar. A large quantity of baggage, stores and ammunition fell into the hands of the Guru.

When the news of this disaster reached Sarhind, the Governor of that place shortly after the defeat, came at the head of a large army and collecting all the Hill Rajas of the neighbourhood, laid siege to Anandpur again. The garrison then consisted of about 8,000 combatants, who had to encounter overwhelming number of the enemy. The sorties conducted by the garrison during the night were very injurious, and the besiegers sustained heavy losses. When the enemy was thus worried and tired, the Guru, at the head of 4,000 men, issued from the fore and inflicted such severe chastisement that the enemy was on the verge of losing the field when the fall of night closed the scene.

Next day the enemy made a frantic and desperate bid to

capture the fort with overwhelming numbers, employing their guns to effect a breach in its walls. All plans failed to carry it out and a blockade was resorted to.

As an instance of the spirit infused and fostered by Sikh Gurus, we may refer our readers to the case of one Sewa Singh,¹² who was employed by the Guru to supply water to the combatants in the field of battle. He supplied water to all the soldiers without any distinction between friend and foe and the matter was reported to the Guru. Sewa Singh was called upon to explain his conduct. He said that both the besiegers and the besieged appeared to him the manifestation of the same divine light and he could make no distinction between them. With this explanation the Guru was highly pleased and ordered him to continue his practice.

During the continuance of the siege the Guru was once sitting on a high ground. Observing this the enemy began to fire on him. The Guru then began to shoot arrows and killed several sardars and gunners. He directed an arrow towards the governor who was encamped about 2½ miles beyond the guns and far beyond the reach of an arrow. The governor marvelled at the distance travelled by the arrow, and attributed it to the miraculous power possessed by the Guru. At that very moment the Guru shot another arrow with a chit attached to it saying that it was discharged by bodily practice and exercise and not by supernatural powers. The latter arrow struck one of the four pedestals of the Governor's bedstead and much bewildered him. He shifted his camp to a safer site.

When the war had been going on for some months and the loss of the besiegers including the Rajas and Sardars, in killed and wounded went up very high, the Governor was puzzled and did not know what to do. The tale talk of the enemy was wonder at the initiating *Amrit* which was converting inferior humans into courageous and invincible lions. The position of the enemy became very critical and they gave up all hopes of success. In that hopelessness, the Governor submitted a long and detailed report to the Emperor and solicited reinforcements. Imperial orders were thereon issued

12. The correct name is Bhai Ghanaiya.—Ed.

to the Governors of Lahore, Kashmir and Peshawar to endeavour their utmost to kill or capture the Guru. These authorities collected all their movable forces and summoned all the *Nawabs*, *Grandeess*, *Jagirdars* and others within their respective provinces, to join them with all their soldiers. The Hill Rajas were ordered to bring to the field, the whole of their armies. Thus it is said that the whole strength of the enemy numbered about one million, whereas the Guru was defending his position with ten thousand only. The ratio of the defenders to the assailants was 1 to 100. Seeing the magnitude of the assailants, some Singhs and the mother of the Guru advised him to vacate the fort, but the Guru replied that he must fight in the field as behoved a warrior. On 22nd *Jeth* V.S. 1761 (May 1704 A.D.) the combined forces attacked the fort but failed to carry it. The blockade was continued for many months more and the besiegers got tired of it. At the same time the provisions in the fort began to run short. The enemy made several proposals for the evacuation of the fort and the Singhs also tried their best to persuade the Guru to leave it for Malwa, but he did not accept any proposal. When all these negotiations failed, the enemy made a desperate attack from all four sides on the fort, but were compelled to retire with heavy losses. Similar attacks were repeated and repulsed with considerable losses and eventually the enemy had to contend himself with the prolonging of the blockade. After 5 months the provisions of the garrison were altogether exhausted and the combatants were compelled to live upon the bark and leaves of trees, and a handful of raw and unparched gram served daily. In spite of all this they continued to fight with undiminished bravery.

For want of provisions the position of the garrison became untenable. The Guru then threw all his spare arms including guns, treasure,¹³ utensils, books and other heavy baggage, into the Satluj

13. When the Guru was throwing gold *mohars* into the river, his mother pleaded that it was preferable to distribute them to all Singhs. The Guru replied that Sikhs should earn their own livelihood and it was incumbent upon them to subsist by honest means, feeding the poor out of their lawful income; whereas those *mohars* were the product of the income brought by offerings, which was tantamount to poison with a few exceptions. As his mother would not administer poison to her sons, so would he refrain from serving poison to his sons, the Khalsa.

river which was flowing beneath the fort. Most of the animals died of hunger and others were starving to death. All those who could move, were despatched towards Dun and Kahlur.

All affairs inside the fort were supervised by the Guru and he personally attended each and every entrenchment. The bravery of the Singhs was still unabated, but hunger was now telling very hard upon them. On the other hand the besiegers were extremely tired. When all provisions in the country around were drained off and the future supply of fodder and provisions on such a grand scale, became a very serious problem; the besiegers sent a letter to the Guru with solemn and sacred oaths, in the name of the cow from the Hindus and of the Quran on behalf of the Muslims, undertaking that if the Guru evacuated the fort he would be let alone to go to any place he pleased. But he would not place any reliance upon these oaths and explained to the Khalsa the hardships they were to suffer on believing the enemy. However his followers, through the intervention of his mother, tried their best to persuade him and he consented to test the enemy's good faith. Therefore in reply to that letter he asked for transport animals to carry his luggage. On this he was supplied with draught bullocks. They were duly loaded and despatched during the night. But when the convoy had gone a little distance from the fort, the enemy attacked and plundered it. They had broken their faith and their shame and humiliation can be well imagined when, instead of valuables, they found trash, such as old shoes, broken pieces of earthen pots, cowdung, litter and old rags with which the bags had been filled in order to test their faith. At this the garrison fought again for two days and then being humbled and overpowered by hunger they urged upon the Guru to leave the fort. They were told to wait a few days more, when the Guru expected that the siege would be raised for want of provisions. However, some of the Sikhs got prepared to desert the Guru, who insisted upon their staying a little longer or executing a deed of release that for the future they were not to call themselves the followers of the Guru, because of their inability to suffer with him. Some of them drew up a deed of discharge as desired by the Guru and forsook him. The forces of the Guru frittered away either by falling in the field or by desertion or otherwise, because the

fight had, with a few months' interval in the beginning, been going on for one year and nine months of which close blockade had been maintained for about six months.

As soon as desertion began in the fort, the besiegers submitted an apology for the conduct of certain soldiers who had fallen upon the convoy of the garrison, and they affirmed that they were still bound by their former oaths to abstain from any injury to the Guru. At the same time an autographed letter came from the Emperor to the Guru swearing on the Quran that he would not harm him and that he was at liberty to go anywhere he pleased. The envoy and the Imperial officers used various means to assure him of their good intentions and sincere declarations bearing the Quran as a witness. All the Hindu Rajas submitted a joint letter with an image of a cow made of flour requesting evacuation of the fort and promising free, safe and unmolested passage through their camp. Circumstances obliged the Guru to evacuate the fort. On the 15th *Maghar* V.S. 1751 (December 1704 A.D.) he despatched the ladies, baggage and books under an escort of 200 men with some sardars towards the Raja of Sirmaur. Thereafter, the Guru taking alongwith him the letters promising safe passage through the invading army and the deed of release executed by the deserters, left the fort with his two elder sons and the remainder of the garrison about 4000 strong. The enemy heard of the Guru's departure and at once marched in pursuit. The ladies who had preceded the Guru were detained owing to the flooded condition of the river Sarsa, and the Guru was obliged to wait until the river water receded. He was quite unaware of the perfidy of the enemy and when he learnt of it, he adroitly managed to retard the progress of the enemy for a long time, but the prolonged flood and the arrival of overwhelming numbers of the enemy brought a complete disaster to the Guru's camp. Many of the Singhs were killed either in the encounter or while endeavouring to send the ladies, children and baggage across the river. Only a few survived this catastrophe. The wives of the Guru were taken in disguise to Delhi. His mother, with his two younger sons, Zorawar Singh and Fateh Singh, were taken to Kheri by Gangu Brahman, a servant to the Guru. The Guru with his two elder sons, Ajit Singh and Jujhar Singh and 125 Singhs, crossed

the river and came towards Ropar, fighting the enemy all the Time who was closing upon him. The Guru reached Chamkaur at sunset, with his two sons and forty surviving Singhs. He got into a house, which he instantly converted into a small mud fortress. It was immediately surrounded by the enemy. Fighting began early next morning, namely 17th *Maghar* V.S. 1761 (December 1704 A.D.). Properly speaking it was not a fight between odds but a wonder staggering humanity. Forty brave men suffering from hunger, fatigue, disaster and inclemency of the weather keeping at bay several lacs of the enemy. The garrison opened fire and managed the action in the manner unparalleled and unprecedented in valour and bravery in the annals of humanity. The showering of bullets and arrows was such that the enemy dared not approach them, nor did they venture to storm the humble fortress. Under protection of the firing of the garrison, Singhs rushed out singly or in insignificant squads to check the advance of the enemy, and the wonders they performed, drowned the assailants in amazement. They behaved more like innocent spectators than implacable enemies. The sight was ravishing and extorted praise from the fanatic and perfidious enemy. The Singhs with drawn swords in the right hand and shields in the left hand entered into the lines of the enemy with the astounding velocity of lightning, and the overawing intrepidity of lions. Whithersoever they went, the enemy was driven like a flock of sheep before a fearful tiger and before the Singhs gained martyrdom many enemies were cut asunder by their hard and sharp steel. When they were no more, another squad followed their example. Thus the day passed till in the afternoon Prince Ajit Singh, the eldest son of the Guru, aged 17 years, stood with folded hands, and bowing down before his father, asked for his permission to sally out and to combat the enemy. On hearing this voluntary declaration from his son, the Guru was extremely glad, praised him much as a true warrior entitled to martyrdom, and patting him on the back exclaimed :

"O dutiful son, it is the *dharma* of a warrior to meet death undauntedly in the face and never to leave the field in disgrace or retire from it. Thus perpetual fame is gained here below and eternal salvation there above."

After this the son took formal leave and bade his father farewell. At the same time Sahib Singh and Mohkam Singh, Piaras, two of the chosen five, obtained the Guru's permission to accompany him. The Guru sat on a rising ground to witness the bravery and valorous deeds of his son and his beloved comrades. The Imperial Commanders also hearing of the arrival of the Prince, occupied high positions to witness the spectacle. The Prince with a loud and repeated cry of "Sat Sri Akal", "Sat Sri Akal" (True is the Gracious Immortal, True is the Gracious Immortal) dashed into the enemy ranks with such courage, alacrity and frightful slaughter, like a fierce tiger among the flock of sheep, that numerous antagonists were cut asunder. The air resounded with praises and commendations extracted from the enemy. Shouts of Bravo ! Well-done ! were heard on all sides. Any sound they got but excited their energy to greater action, until at last, they, in their turn, tasted the nectar of eternal life in the heavens. When Ajit Singh was thus crowned, his younger brother Zorawar Singh,¹⁴ aged fourteen, petitioned the father to follow the example set by his brother. The Guru then was extremely happy and sang to the glory of the Lord. Then washing his son's face, he turbaned him with his own hands and equipped him with a shield and scimitar. The father kissed him for the last time and addressed him, "O beloved son, for the sake of Truth (*dharma*) it behoves thee to slay the enemy with thy own hand and then gain the crown of martyrdom." Shortly before he rushed forth, the young Prince felt thirsty and demanded water to quench his thirst, but the Guru forbade him to drink adding, "My darling, thou needest taste no water now. There is plenty of it with thy brother. Go and make haste." Then the young prince issued out of the fortress with three other Singhs who had obtained permission of their Guru. They pounced upon the enemy like a hungry lion upon his prey, and slaughtering many leaders of note, fell in their turn, martyrs in the field. This touching scene paralysed the enemy who were thus kept at bay till sun set. As soon as the two Princes had attained martyrdom, the Guru thanked the Lord with due solemnity that he had been able to keep his trust (meaning the

14. The correct name is Jujhar Singh.—Ed.

two Princes) so well and had been able so gloriously to devote and sacrifice them for the sake of righteousness.

When the darkness of the night began to overshadow the light of the day, the Guru had only 8 survivors left with him. The enemy learnt that the garrison consisted of a few men only and attacked with overwhelming force, but the shower of bullets and arrows convinced the assailants that the number of defenders was yet too large for a storm to be attempted. The attack was repeated and pushed on until darkness prevented its further prosecution. The enemy retreated with serious losses, losing many able commanders and encamped out of the garrison's range and surrounded the fortress with a view to storm it the next morning.

When the prevalence of darkness granted respite, the garrison began to consider their own plans. The Guru having entrusted the Guruship to five Singhs, exchanged his apparel with one Sant Singh,¹⁵ who was most like him in appearance. Then he posted four Singhs on the corners of the fortress, with orders to beat the drum and continue firing and shooting arrows throughout the night. Giving these instructions he left the fortress with three Singhs and steered through the camp of the enemy shouting loudly that "the Guru of the Sikhs was escaping." This echoed throughout the camp whilst the garrison was busy carrying out the instructions of the Guru in regard to drumming and showering death upon the enemy. The cry of flight, combined with the action of the garrison, put the enemy into confusion, which afforded the Guru an opportunity to get a long way off. The darkness was thick and his comrades, during the turmoil, missed the Guru who travelled on foot the whole night. At day-break at Kheri he met two cow-herds Alfu and Gamun, who recognised him and began to raise a hue and cry. He tried to silence them but when they would not be silenced, he killed them with his sword. Finding it difficult and dangerous to travel further he slept in a jungle under a *Jand* tree where the shrine of *Jand Sahib* now stands. He rose in the afternoon and took shelter in a thick jungle under the grove of *Ber* trees. The shrine of *Jhar Sahib* now stands there in

15. The above name is mentioned by Santokh Singh (*Gurpartap Suraj Granth*) but Sukha Singh (*Gurbilas Patshahi Daswin*) gives the name as Sangat Singh.—Ed.

memory of the occasion. At nightfall he started again towards Malwa, and reaching Machhiwara he lay down to rest in a garden. A shrine called *Charan Kanwal* was erected there and exists to this day. That garden belonged to Gani Khan and Nabi Khan, Rohela Pathans, who were dealers in horses. They had on occasions, struck bargains with the Guru, and respected him as their best customer. Early the next morning they came to their garden for a walk and finding the Guru there in such a condition, placed their services at his command. At that very time the missing comrades of the Guru joined him disguised as Muhammadans.

Before proceeding further let us acquaint our readers with what happened at Chamkaur after the Guru had left it. The garrison acted precisely as the Guru instructed them, and early the next morning the fortress was stormed by the enemy. The garrison continued fighting to the last. Sant Singh's body was taken for that of the Guru and its head was severed and sent to Aurangzeb, and all idea of pursuing him given up.

At Machhiwara the Guru halted for a day and then, at the suggestion of the Pathans Gani Khan and Nabi Khan, arrayed himself in black¹⁶ like a Muhammadan *Pir* (spiritual leader) and marched towards Malwa. The Singhs and the two Pathans were also dressed like the followers of a *Pir*. The Guru threw his hair loose behind his head like the Muhammadan *Pirs* of Multan, sat on a *charpai* (bed-stead) and was carried by the Singhs and Pathans on their shoulders. One of them waved over the Guru's head a bundle of peacock-plumes in the fashion of Muslim *Pirs*. To all queries on the way the Pathans replied he was a '*Pir* of Uch' (a well known locality near Multan).¹⁷ When passing through the camp of the enemy at the village of Lal, the disguise was suspected and they were stopped. The commander required the Guru and his followers to dine with him, as a test that they were really Muslims and also demanded reliable evidence for the Guru's identification as a *Pir*. The Pathans pleaded that the *Pir* was fasting in divine worship, and

16. The colour of garb-like clothes has mostly been mentioned as blue. See Teja Singh, Ganda Singh *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, 70 (P.U.P., 1989).—Ed.

17. A habitation of Muslim divines called *pirs* situated on the left bank of river Sutlej in the erstwhile Bahawalpur state (now in Pakistan).—Ed.

obtained his exemption from the dinner, whilst the Singhs actually partook of the Muslim food. With the help and intervention of *Qazi Pir* Muhammad of Salohwala, Sayad Inayat Ali of Nurpur and Sayad Hassan Ali of Mothu Majra, the whole difficulty was surmounted and the Guru reached Rampur Katani safely. There he was supplied with arms. Then through Karoch he reached the village of Alamgir, (now in Ludhiana district) whence the Pathans were permitted to return home with due honours. Thus the Guru was safe, and when they heard of his safety, his followers began to flock around him again. The Pathans and other Muslims who had helped the Guru were granted credentials for which they and their descendants are and ever will be honoured and respected by the Sikh community.

Here we pause for a moment to witness the fate of the Guru's mother and two children Jujhar Singh¹⁸ and Fateh Singh, aged eight and six years respectively. After the Sarsa River disaster, one Ganga Ram,¹⁹ an old Brahman cook of the Guru, took them to his own house at Kheri. Finding opportunity he stole the money and jewels which they had in the room with them. The Guru's mother who was asleep when the theft was committed, reproached him for his behaviour. Then the traitor turned them out of his house, pre-arranging with the police authorities for their arrest. They were taken to Wazir Khan, the Governor of Sarhind, who asked them to embrace Islam. From promises and persuasions he resorted to various threats of torture and cruel death. The infants' courageous reply was ever in the negative. As to putting his threats into execution the Governor was restrained by Sher Muhammad Khan, Nawab of Malerkotla. The Nawab remonstrated with the Governor that innocent infants should not be treated so cruelly, but Diwan Sucha Nand, a Hindu official, represented them as the progeny of a snake, and persuaded him to punish them like enemies. The Governor, therefore, doomed the infant Princes to be bricked alive in a wall. Questions of conversion were put to them at intervals as building progressed, and their denial was

18. The correct name is Zorawar Singh.

19. The Sikh chroniclers mostly mention his name as Gangu.—Ed.

confirmed at every stage until they were built over with lime and mortar and on 13th Poh V.S. 1761 (1704 A.D.) vanished from mortal vision for ever. This example shows us how religious tuition hardens and stiffens even infants and unfledged minds to strenuous torture and death. When she heard of this cruelty, the Guru's mother died of grief. The traitor Brahman was duly punished for his treacherous deed. His property, for the sake of the Guru's wealth, was confiscated under the orders of the Governor.

To resume the continuity of our narration, the Guru came to Siloani via Jodh and Mori. There he heard the account of his mother and infants' death and received it with the utmost resignation and fortitude. The congregation burst into tears, but the Guru consoled and pacified them, exclaiming that those who die for *dharma* and righteousness are ever alive and immortal. He added that so cruel a death for infants was forbidden by every religion, and then praising the magnanimity and good heartedness of the Nawab of Malerkotla, he blessed him. The Muslim rule was then cursed. It was also declared that the town of Sarhind should, for the cruelty committed there, suffer seriously, that it would be utterly ruined and demolished by the Singhs and its bricks would be scattered.²⁰

From Siloani the Guru visited Dina via Lamma Jatpur, Chakar, Takhtpur, Madhe, Dhaul and Kangar. At Dina, there exists a shrine named Lohgarh on the spot upto this time. At Dina the pilgrims began to wait upon the Guru and regular troops were organised as at Anandpur. The Guru composed a poem in the Persian language and sent it to the Emperor Aurangzeb, who was then personally engaged in subduing the Marhattas in the Dakhan. The letter was signed, sealed and delivered to Bhai Daya Singh, one of the five chosen ones. It was named Zafarnama (letter of victory) and grievances were set forth in it. The chief complaint was that the Emperor and his Officers had bound themselves with an oath calling the Quran in witness, but they broke it perfidiously and tried to persecute him. The Emperor was reproved for such a conduct and a suggestion was made for punishing the perfidious

20. The whole of this prediction was duly fulfilled. For details see the next Chapter.

offenders. The Emperor was desired to abstain from shedding innocent blood as he himself was bound to render his account to the Lord. He should not consider himself free, because of the death of the four Princes of the Guru as the real and formidable enemy (Guru) was still alive. The Emperor is praised with regard to his ability, the vastness of his empire and influence, but the Guru did not consider him orthodox or true in his religion, because he was fighting against an iconoclast on behalf of the idolators—the Hill Rajas. The Lord God was praised both in the beginning, middle and end of the letter, and Aurangzeb is informed that if he relies upon his empire, wealth and army, the Guru relies upon the Almighty. It is also added that when the Almighty supports anybody, the enemy cannot injure him in anyway, not even to the extent of a hair, and that the Almighty is such that He can enable a single man to kill a million.

After the despatch of his letter, the Guru visited Bhadaur, Jalal, Diyalpur, Bhagta, Bandar, Bargari Bahbal and Dad. When he arrived at Pind Patto, news was received that Wazir Khan, the Governor of Sarhind, was marching against him with 7,000 men. He prepared to meet him, but proposed to give battle in the jungle of Khidrana. In that jungle there was a pond which could provide ample water supply for the Guru's soldiers but there was no water elsewhere within a radius of about 15 miles. Therefore it was resolved to occupy that pond. When the Guru was proceeding in that direction those Singhs of Majha (about 800 in number who had deserted him at Anandpur executing a deed of release) rejoined him and requested to be allowed to conclude peace. The Guru commanded them to keep quiet and told them that they were at liberty to return home. They all returned with the exception of forty who determined to sacrifice themselves for the Guru. Just at the same time and before the Guru had entrenched himself at Khidrana, the King's army overtook him. Those forty Sikhs undertook to retard the progress of the enemy in order to afford him time for entrenchments. They scattered and hung all their clothes on the bushes and dispersing in the jungle opened fire when the enemy neared them. Their clothes were taken as tents of the Guru's camp and the enemy began to fire at them. The enemy

was thus detained for a long time when Wazir Khan learnt that it was a fictitious and delusive camp with a handful of combatants. Then he stormed the position, the Singhs fought him to the last man. In the meantime the Guru had strengthened his position on a raised ground close to the pond and a battle was fought with the imperialists on 21st *Baisakh* V.S. 1762 (May 1705 A.D.). The Guru, while the fight was raging, harangued his combatants inciting them to action and encouraged them to renewed exertions, bravery and fidelity. The imperialists sustained heavy losses and were completely defeated. The Guru personally attended the wounded and then cremated all the dead. To the dead he gave the title of *Muktas* or emancipated, and named the pond *Mukatsar* or the tank of emancipation. A handsome temple is still extant on the spot and the pond has been converted into a big reservoir. A petty town has also come into existence after the name of the tank and forms one of the Tahsils of the present District of Firozpur (Ferozepur) in the Panjab.²¹ A great fair is held there every year on the 1st *Magh* in commemoration of the event.

It is stated that when the Guru was attending the wounded, after the fight was over, Mahan Singh, one of the forty Singhs referred to above, was lying on the ground fatally wounded. The Guru gave him water to drink and asked him what blessings he wanted. He requested that the deed of release, which was executed by the deserters at Anandpur, be cancelled and destroyed and all those who had taken to this course be taken back into the Khalsa fold. The Guru said that he should ask something for himself but the request was thrice repeated. The Guru was highly pleased with the noble aim of Mahan Singh, and taking the deed out of his pocket, he destroyed it in his presence and issued an edict that the deserter's ex-communication had been revoked and they were re-admitted in the Khalsa brotherhood.

The Guru then continued his tour of the country. An anecdote is told of the tests he employed to ascertain whether the Singhs were bold and strong enough in their belief. On one occasion he put on certain forbidden clothing for which the

21. Now Mukatsar is a big town and has been made a district headquarter.—Ed.

Singhs asked him to pay a penalty of 125 rupees. It was duly paid and sweetmeats (*karah parshad*) worth that sum were distributed.

On 17th *Katak* V.S. 1762 (1705 A.D.) the Guru came to Talwandi Saboki and halted there for nine months and nine days. The original Granth Sahib was with Dhir Mal as explained in the preceding Chapter. The Guru asked him to send it to him for the incorporation of hymns composed by Guru Teg Bahadur in accordance with the directions of Guru Arjan (see Introduction). He refused to lend it and tauntingly remarked that if the Guru possessed spiritual power, he must produce a copy without reference to the original. There was no other copy then extant, and the Guru is said to have produced a copy with one word's difference from the original.

It was at this village that the ladies came from Delhi and joined the Guru.

One Dalla, a grandee, at this place, told the Guru that he would have helped the Guru in the war at Anandpur, if he had been informed of it. In order to test his men, the Guru loaded a gun and told him to bring one of them so that he could try it upon him. Nobody would come forward to give his life and all dispersed in different directions. The Guru thereupon saw two Ranghreta Singhs and called them for the purpose. They instantly ran with their half-bound turbans and vied with each other to become the first target of the experiment. Dalla was astonished and was told by the Guru that he could never rely upon the help of men who loved and preferred their life to the Guru's commands.

During his halt at Talwandi, the Guru received a reply to the letter (*Zafarnama*) he had submitted to the Emperor. The Emperor was apparently much pleased with the contents of the letter, and the appearance and dress of Bhai Daya Singh, its messenger. Dresses of honour were bestowed on the Bhai and he was sent back with a letter and valuable presents for the Guru. Aurangzeb deprecated the action of Wazir Khan, Governor of Sarhind, and regretted that all had happened without his knowledge. He apologised and asked for pardon for the past and requested the Guru to repair to him, so that

necessary reparation could be made for the losses sustained by him.²²

The Governor of Sarhind was severely censured and was directed that for the future, he should let the Guru alone to travel in the country where he pleased.

On receipt of the Emperor's letter, the Guru sent his family to Delhi on 23rd *Sawan* V.S. 1763 (August 1706 A.D.) and left Saboki Talwandi for the Dakhan to visit Aurangzeb in order to get the wrong-doers, cheats and oppressors punished. The Guru thought that if Aurangzeb would not receive him kindly, or in case he played the hypocrite and double-dealer, the opportunity would be utilised for overthrowing the Empire in combination with the Marhattas who were then waging war with him. He resolved to propagate gospel of the Khalsa in southern India. The Guru went on preaching his gospel through various towns and villages. It is stated that the majority of the Singhs were unwilling to go to the Dakhan and dwindled away within a short journey. While at Talwandi, Dalla, the Chief, professed to serve him much, but declined to accompany him to the Dakhan and went away one morning secretly. When he was informed of it, the Guru said :

ਨਾ ਡਲਾ ਨ ਮਲਾ ਹੁੰ ਸਾਥ ਅਲਾ ॥
ਜਹਾਂ ਆਪ ਜਾਊ ਤਹਾਂ ਆਪ ਖਲਾ ॥
ਸਿਸੰ ਬਾਲ ਇਵੈ ਮੁਝੈ ਜਾਨ ਪਾਲੈ ॥
ਕਬੀ ਦੂਰ ਹੋਤਾ ਨਾ ਨਿਰਖਯੋ ਨਿਰਾਲੈ ॥

Nā Ḍalā na Malā hamūn sāth Allā;
Jahān āp jāūn tabān āp kballā;
Sisaṅg bāl ivai mujhai jān pālai;
Kabī dūr hotā nā nirakhyo nirālai.

22. The fresh accounts on the episode reveal that Bhai Daya Singh was unable to meet Aurangzeb intially but on receipt of fresh instructions from Guruji, Zafarnamah reached the Emperor which was read to him by his *Munshi*. Aurangzeb was filled with remorse and wanted to make amends. He despatched a letter to Guruji written on the cover page of Quran, inviting him to his place. When Bhai Daya Singh did not return for long, Guruji set out towards Dakhan from Talwandi Sabo. He met Bhai Daya Singh on the way. Aurangzeb however had died on February 21, 1707 at Ahmadnagar before Guruji could reach his place. So, no meeting could ever take place between Guruji and Aurangzeb. Guruji however met Prince Muazzam who was then busy fighting for succession.—Ed.

Neither Dalla nor Malla accompanies me but Alla,
Wherever I go; there He is present.
He ever protects me like a child,
I have never seen him separated or at a distance from
me.

On his way he visited Nahur in Bikarner territory, Suheva, Madhsinghana, Jaipur territory, Pushkar, Ajmer and Naraina. He also visited the shrine of Dadu and there, saluted with an arrow's end in order to test the faith of the Singhs. The Singhs, on his return to camp, asked him to pay a penalty of Rs. 500 for saluting the tomb. The penalty was gladly paid. Sweetmeats (*Karah Parshad*) worth that sum were prepared and distributed. At that time the Guru remarked that if the Singhs continued to be so strict in their principles, they would be invincible, and any laxity therein would degrade and weaken them.

The Guru continued his journey through Lali, Ghamrat, Kulayat and other towns. When he arrived at Baghour in the territory of Udepur, the Raja also was there and detained the Guru as his guest for a considerable period, and the news of Aurangzeb's death on 21st February 1707 A.D. reached him there.

When Aurangzeb became seriously ill, his eldest son Muazzam, who was Viceroy of Kabul, marched towards Delhi and the tidings of his father's demise reached him on the way. He at once assumed the crown and ascended the throne under the title of the Bahadur Shah. Prince Azam, his younger brother who was near his father at the time of his death, also proclaimed himself emperor in defiance of his father's will. Bahadur Shah, collecting his army in the Panjab, marched from Lahore to Agra, and wrote to the Guru for help. The Guru therefore went to Agra and took part in the battle which was fought there on 31st May 1707 (1764 V.S.) for the throne of Delhi. Prince Azam was killed in June 1707. According to Khafi Khan, "an arrow struck him in the forehead and ended his existence." It is said that arrow was subsequently identified as belonging to the Guru. Soon after this battle the formal ceremony of enthronement was gone through. After that His Majesty paid a visit to the Guru, presenting him with 1,100 gold *mohars*.

Shortly after that the Emperor came to Delhi and the Guru

accompanied him. One day when the Emperor and the Guru were boating in the Jamna River, the former recounted how he lay under obligations to the Guru and asked him what services he could render him. The Guru demanded that the Governor of Sarhind, Wazir Khan with his Diwan Sucha Nand, and 15 Rajas and others who had been oppressors and cheats, might be made over to him, like Chandu Lal, to be dealt with as he deemed fit. The Emperor asked him to wait for some years until his government was fully established. At the same time he desired the Guru to choose some country for his residence as compensation for the loss he had sustained at Anandpur. As for the Singhs he offered them *Jagirs*. The Guru then in an angry tone exclaimed :

"There is no need for me to wait so long, and I require no compensation for my losses at Anandpur, because you have no means with which to compensate for them. As regards my Singhs, they will be powerful enough to choose and get hold of the country for their own *Jagirs*. One²³ of my disciples will be able immediately to chastise those very persons I have just named." Hearing these words His Majesty was surprised and kept quiet. Next day he sent to the Guru five lakhs in cash and presents for distribution among the Singhs. This was reluctantly accepted and distributed among the Singhs. Along with that present His Majesty had sent also jewelry and utensils worth Rs. 1,00,000 for Mata Sundri, and issued orders for the daily supply of provisions for the *langar*.

After a short stay at Delhi the Emperor set out for Dakhan and the Guru accompanied him.²⁴ He travelled through Mathura, Brindaban, Bhartpur, Jaipur, Jodhpur and on arrival at Ujjain held a grand Imperial *Darbar*. Rajas of Rajputana attended it. His Majesty praised and lauded the Guru in that *Darbar* for his piety as well as for his bravery and the services rendered by him. It is stated that at Ujjain, while out hunting, the Emperor desired a lion to be killed with the sword. Many failed in the attempt, but one Roshan Singh, deputed by the

23. Probably this referred to Banda Bahadur.

24. Guru's consent to travel alongwith the emperor has been wrongly interpreted by a few Muslim historians that the Guru took-up employment with the Mughal court.—Ed.

Guru, succeeded in killing the beast. On the same day His Majesty fixed a mark for arrow shooting at some considerable distance. All failed to hit it, the arrows of many failing even to reach it, but the Guru's first arrow carried it about a hundred yards farther on. The proficiency of the Guru's skill astonished His Majesty and all others present there.

When they reached Burhanpur, the Guru stopped there on the Tapti River, whereas the Emperor went towards Ahmadnagar via Gulbarga. After a short stay at Burhanpur the Guru travelling through Sevan, Chhapra, Nagpur Balapur, Akola, Bonera, Amravati, Basmat, Hangoli reached Naded in the beginning of 1708 A.D. He met there Baba Banda, a *Bairagi*, who became his disciple. Banda was then despatched by the Guru to the Panjab to punish the aggressors and oppressors in the Panjab, as will be explained in the next Chapter. The scenery at Naded was fascinating, and the Guru encamped on a beautiful plain on the banks of the Godavari River. He had about 50 Singhs with him.

The Emperor, who had separated from the Guru at Burhanpur, had gone to Haidrabad to subdue his brother, Prince Kam Bakhsh, who was marching from Bijapur with his army. The Prince gave battle in the neighbourhood of Haiderabad, and was mortally wounded. After that His Majesty proceeded towards Ahmadnagar, which was subdued. From there; he went in the middle of 1708 A.D. to Golkanda via Naded and paid a visit to the Guru. Baba Banda²⁵ by that time had punished

25. There is some variance on the opinion as to the time when Banda Bahadur met Guru Gobind Singh and as to the exact date when the former set out on his punitive mission. Some say that he left Naded during the life-time of the Guru while others contradict it. The author of *Suraj Parkash* informs us that Banda was despatched by the Guru himself. Bhai Gian Singh in his *History of Guru Khalsa* supports him. Bhai Karm Singh author of *Banda Bahadur* gives a contrary account.

We have carefully studied these and the most other authorities. A close study of Bhai Gian Singh's history shows that notwithstanding certain errors, it is an elaborate and trustworthy history. Such errors are unavoidable and even the most careful Muhammadan and European authors, as the comparison of their works with each other shows, are liable to commit them. In order to enlighten our readers we examine the point in detail.

According to Taylor, the Emperor Aurangzeb died on the 13th February 1707. Khafi Khan puts it on 28th *Zilqa'da* 1118 A.H. (corresponding with 21st February, 1707 A.D. as computed by Sir Elliott.)

Smana, Sadhaura, Damla and Chhatbanur. He had also conquered Sarhind and most harshly dealt with those who were in any way concerned in burying alive the two infant Princes. His Majesty explained these facts to the Guru and requested him to prevent Banda from prosecuting his punitive campaign any further and committing those ravages and atrocities in the Panjab which are seriously condemned by Mussalman authors. The Guru however, replied that it was not unjust to pay the

- Syad Muhammad Latif says that the Guru "set out to visit Aurangzeb, but on his way, he heard of His Majesty's death." The Guru had left for Dakhan where Aurangzeb then was, before Aurangzeb's death and after the battle at Muksar which occurred in may 1706. Bhai Gian Singh fixes the date of the Guru's departure in August, 1706 A.D. On his way he visited various places and was entertained or invited by several Rajput Rajas whose acquaintance he wanted to cultivate. He must, therefore, have occupied a longer time on the journey than an ordinary wayfarer, and Aurangzeb died while the Guru was at Udepur.

On the death of Aurangzeb, dissension arose among his sons about the succession and every claimant wanted to enlist the services of anyone whom he considered of any use in his contest for the crown. Bahadur Shah at the time was about 66 years of age and was not ignorant of the Guru's military worth. On his arrival at Lahore, he had tried his best to collect as many troops as possible, in order to march on Agra and it is quite reasonable and natural to consider that he must have asked the Guru to join him in the field. Taylor gives the date of that battle as 31st May 1707. Khafi Khan put it, as calculated by Sir Elliott, at 10th June 1707. After that for some months, there was no fighting and His Majesty appears to have spent some time at Delhi and it is quite safe to presume that the Guru must have accompanied him, as his family was there, as is proved by the existence of a temple on the spot where Mata Sundri used to live at a short distance to the south of the Turkman Gate of the town of Delhi (Both the Mata Sundri and Mata Sahib Devan died at Delhi and their *Smadhis* are still extant on the right bank of the Jamna River, at about 4 miles from the Delhi Gate of the town of Delhi and about half mile to the east of Barapulla on the Delhi-Mathura Road, in the village of Kilokri, where the smadhi of the eighth Guru is also located). And the association with the name of Guru Gobind Singh of the Gurdwaras.

1. at Moti Ka Bagh, alias Mochi Ka Bagh, at about 6 miles from Delhi, close to the Delhi-Gurgaon road via Basant, and
2. As the north-eastern corner of the tomb of Hamayun, proves, beyond question, the fact of Guru's visit to Delhi came after the battle of Agra was over.

After paying a visit to Delhi, His Majesty went to Agra, and from there he proceeded to Dakhan, in order to meet his brother Kam Bakhsh, who was marching against him. Taylor fixes the date of departure on 5th October 1707 and the fighting with Kam Bakhsh near Haidrabad on 15th February 1708. Khafi Khan does not give the precise date of the fighting but he informs us that Prince Kam Bakhsh, at the end of *Shawwal* 1119 A.H. was within two or three marches of Haidrabad and the fighting took place soon after that. According to comparative statement of Hijri and Christian Calenders of that time which I have prepared, the last day of the above month corresponded with 29th January, 1708. ■

oppressor in kind. On hearing this the Emperor kept quiet and after a short stay went on his way.

One Painsa Khan was killed in an action by Guru Hargobind, and his son Saundhe Khan, fell at the hands of Guru Gobind Singh. Saundhe Khan left a widow and two minor sons. The widow presented those minors before the Guru and prayed for their maintenance. He took compassion, enlisted them and trained them well in military art. When they attained maturity their Muhammadan neighbour began to taunt and sneer

☛ The Guru had separated from His Majesty at Burhanpur and therefore it is quite safe to assume that the Guru had reached Nanded sometime about February 1708. And on his return after about five months, His Majesty visited the Guru at Nanded and complained of the conduct of Banda Bahadur who had conquered Sarhind about June 1708. According to Elphinstone the Emperor had received the intelligence of the capture of Sarhind by the Sikhs, before he reached the Rajput country. And Khafi Khan says that he got this news at Ujjain and then he visited the Rajput country on his way to Panjab. Details as to the movement of the Guru and his relation with the Emperor were omitted by Muhammadan authors as can naturally be expected, as not of sufficient importance to their history. They have never tried to study the Guru closely or learn much about him, but they are compelled to make mention of Dakhn owing to the political commotion caused by Banda and the Sikhs in the Panjab.

Sikh authors say that the Guru had heard much about Banda before he reached Nanded, and it was immediately after his arrival there that he met Banda. And it was soon after their acquaintance that Banda was properly instructed in all respects and sent to the Panjab. He did not take long in arriving at his destination, Sarhind.

It is at the beginning of 1120 A.H. (commencing with April 1708 A.D.) that Khafi Khan introduces us to Banda and informs us that his progress was very rapid. He says that "he (Banda) began to plunder in the Panjab the country about Sarhind and in the course of three or four months he gathered round him four or five thousand pony-riders and seven or eight thousand motley footmen. His number increased daily and much plunder fell into his hands, until he had eighteen or nineteen thousand men under arms, and carried on a predatory and cruel warfare. He fought with two or three *jajirdars* who went out to punish him, defeated them and killed them. In many villages which he plundered, he appointed *Thanedars* and *Tabsildars* to collect the revenue of the neighbourhood for him, and matters came to such a pass with three or four thousand infidels who were leagued with him that he wrote orders to the Imperial Officials and the Managers of the *Jagirs*, calling upon them to submit to him, and to relinquish their posts. (Elliott's *History of India*). After this follows the account of Wazir Khan, *Faujdar* of Sarhind. This indicates that how Banda was working. Khafi Khan's account of the Sikhs and of Banda's mission before his visitation to the Panjab (which is not in detail) is altogether wrong and misleading. In any case we are informed that Banda was, in the beginning of 1120 A.H. was in the Panjab. Khafi Khan does not give dates but it appears that 1120 A.H. corresponded with 27th April 1708 to 16th April 1709. ☛

at them for serving the assassin of their ancestors. The Guru is said to have once said to them that the blood of his ancestors should be avenged by a true warrior, and they were prevailed upon by their Muhammadan friends to avenge their ancestral blood. Different authors have given different accounts of the fatal attack on the person of the Guru, but the established fact is that these sons²⁶ of Saundhe Khan were prevailed upon by their Muhammadan friends to kill the Guru. On 4th *Bhadon* V.S. 1765 (the middle of August 1708 A.D.) when the Guru was alone, asleep in his tent, one of the brothers secretly entered the tent and stabbed him in the belly. The Guru at once arose and slew the stabber, whose brother was, at the time of this fiendish act, keeping the watch at the entrance to the tent and took to his heels, but was caught and cut to pieces by the Singhs. The Emperor, who was at Golkanda, having heard of this infernal attack upon the Guru, sent his own physician to dress the wound. He also sent many precious presents, including bows and arrows of great strength. The wound soon healed but the Guru seeing that his end was nearing, despatched Mata Sahib Devi who had accompanied him there, to Delhi. She was given his belt, arms and a picture which was prepared by an Italian

■ Guru Gobind Singh died at the end of October 1708. And as we have stated Banda had become a disciple of the Guru early in 1708. We have no reason to assume that Banda's deputation was postponed by the Guru, who was so prompt and determined in all his actions, for such a long period. Considering all the sides of the question, I am of the opinion that Bhai Gian Singh's account of Banda is, excepting for a few clerical mistakes, correct.

There is no doubt that Muhammadan authors also conflict in many points as for instance with regard to the death of Prince Azam. Some say that he was slain by a soldier getting up into his howdah, others say he was shot down by a musket-ball or pierced through with many arrows, whereas Khafi Khan, in support of Sikh authors, says he was struck with an arrow in the forehead. Again Khafi Khan puts the date of Emperor Bahadur Shah's death as 18th February 1711 A.D., Tazkara-i-Chaugatai 1712 A.D., Taylor fixes it 16th February 1712 A.D. whereas Syad Muhammad Latif says it was 19th February 1712 A.D. Thus discrepancies are inevitable and if we follow the Muhammadan authors alone, Guru Gobind Singh was at Naded early in 1708 A.D. or about ten months before his death. This afforded an ample opportunity for contracting Banda's acquaintance in contradiction to authors making different statements. In any case the Guru reached Naded between October 1707 and February 1708 A.D. or thereabout.

26. The Pathans who attacked Gururji were Bashel Beg and Jamshed Khan. Some writers are of the opinion that these men were sent by the Nawab of Sirhind sensing retribution at the hands/command of the Guru.—Ed.

under orders of the Emperor. Although the wound had healed to all appearance, it was not thoroughly cured, nor would the physician permit his patient to take strong exercise, yet the Guru employed all his force to bend one of the strongest bows sent by the Emperor. While doing so the stitches of his wound gave way and it opened up again. The Guru then refused to have it sewn and dressed again, and prepared to leave the world for ever. He chose for his pyre, a site which resembled a sort of platform and the Muslims claimed it as a tomb of one of their ancestors. The grandee of the place came to the spot. The Guru claimed it as his own and stated that it belonged to him, and he used to perform divine worship there during his past birth. He pointed out that the platform was not a tomb or grave nor did it contain any bones or ashes, but it was an ordinary platform over an old cellar which contained certain articles belonging to himself. The Muslims and their Nawab agreed to the place being dug up on condition that if the articles referred to were found, the Guru was the undisputed master of it. It was then opened and the articles mentioned were found in it. Thus the dispute ended in favour of the Guru. On that site a big pyre was raised and a considerable area was enclosed within cloth walls (*Kanāts*).²⁷ At the same time a grand feast was organised and then the Guru imparted necessary instructions to his followers and explained that whatever was going to happen was in accordance with the orders of the Almighty. He impressed upon the Singhs that he was quite satisfied with what he intended to do and nobody should bewail and lament him; and whoever did so, would suffer for it. He ordered them to chant hymns and repeat the laudation of the Lord for forty days²⁸ after his death. He declared that the appointed ten had completed their mission, and added, "I entrust my Khalsa to the bosom of the everlasting Divine," and that for the future the spiritual guide of his followers was the Holy Scripture, 'Granth Sahib'. He appointed it as his successor after going through the customary ceremonials and making the usual presents to it. He explained that whoever

27. Some give a different accounts, and it requires still a thorough investigation to find out the reality.—Ed.

28. This has no significance in Sikhism. The author has recorded a prevalent ritual of his own time.—Ed.

wished to behold the Guru, must surrender before it and open it with a sincere heart, to have an interview with the Guru. It will serve as a true guide and impartial divine teacher under all circumstances whatsoever. He then uttered the following hymn :

ਆਗਿਆ ਭਈ ਅਕਾਲ ਕੀ ਤਬੈ ਚਲਾਇਓ ਪੰਥ॥

ਸਭ ਸਿਖਨ ਕੋ ਹੁਕਮ ਹੈ ਗੁਰੂ ਮਾਨਿਓ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ॥²⁹

Āgiā bhai Akāl kī tabai chalāio pañh

Sabb Sikhan ko hukam hai gurū mānio grāñh.

Under the permission of the Immortal Being the Panth (Khalsa religion) was started.

All the Sikhs are enjoined to recognize the Granth as their Guru.

After imparting these and other instructions, and bathing as usual, the Guru dressed and arrayed himself, wearing all the *Kartik* arms he used to carry in the field, and then in the forty-second year of his life, on *Sudi* 5th of *Katak* V.S. 1765 (end of October 1708 A.D.)³⁰ he entered the enclosure alone, shutting the door behind him. He forbade entry to the enclosure after him and ordered that the pile, after it was burnt down, should neither be sifted nor a tomb erected upon the site, emphasising his orders with a curse. He also directed that *Kirya* obsequies (like those of the Hindus) should not be performed; none in fact except the recital of the Guru Granth Sahib and utter reliance upon the Almighty. After the Guru entered the enclosure, God alone knows what happened. Shortly after his entry, the pile was ablaze. The Sikhs assembled from all quarters and a loud cry of 'Sat Sri Akal', "True is the God, the never dying", vibrated through the air. Music was played and hymns from *Gurbani* were chanted. The national calamity was felt throughout the country.

It is said that contrary to the Guru's instructions, the pile of ashes was stirred on the fourth day and no trace of bones or weapons was found there with the exception of a miniature sword (*kard*).

29. This couplet is not the composition of the tenth Guru. Infact it is a distorted version of Giani Gian Singh's following couplet from *Panth Parkash*.

Akāl Purakh ke bachan sion pargaṭ chalāiyo pañh.

Sab Sikhan ko bachan hai gurū māniob grāñh.

30. He left for his heavenly abode on the night of 7-8th October 1708.—Ed.

CHAPTER XI

BANDA BAHADUR

Banda was born at Rajauri, in the Kashmir territory on *Sudi* 13th *Kartik* V.S. 1727 (October 1670 A.D.). His birth name was Lachhman. He was the son of Ramdev, a Rajput. In his childhood, he was very fond of arms and sports. Once he shot a doe, who, in her agony of death, produced two young ones, which also died immediately. This pitiable scene seriously stirred his mind and the sport becoming distasteful to him, he retired from the world. He became disciple of one Janki Parshad, a Bairagi ascetic who resided at Rajauri. In V.S. 1743 (1686 A.D.) he accompanied Janki Parshad to attend the *Baisakhi* fair at Ram Thamman in the neighbourhood of Qasur (now in Pakistan) and joined the sect under the name of Narain Das, alias Lachhman Bala, the disciple of one, Ram Das, Bairagi. After that he went on pilgrimages to different places until he was enamoured by the scenic beauty of Nasak. He put up at Panchbatti for contemplation and the performance of divine worship. While there, he formed acquaintance and cultivated friendship with one Angar Nath, a *jogi*. During the last days of the *Jogi*, he served him and as a recompense for his services, the *Jogi* is said to have given him, in V.S. 1748 (1691 A.D.) a book containing the knowledge of occult sciences. After the death of the *Jogi*, he travelled southwards and put up at Naded on the banks of the Godavari and constructed a beautiful little garden. He changed his name from Narain Das to Madho Das, and became widely known and greatly respected in that region and its neighbourhood.

While at Burhanpur (the place where the Guru separated from His Majesty, Emperor Bahadur Shah, *vide* the preceding Chapter) Guru Gobind Singh heard much about Madho Das and

decided to see him. On arrival at Naded the Guru went to his *Asbaram* (dwelling), but he was then away. The Guru sat on his *talismanic palang* (bedstead) and ordered the Singhs to slaughter goats with a view to excite Madho Das, because he was, then a strict vegetarian. On hearing the details of the outrageous visit of this personage, Madho Das was inflamed and immediately returning to his abode tried his occult powers on the Guru and his followers. But all was in vain and then understanding and fearing the might of the Guru, he came and stood before him with folded hands.¹

The following dialogue took place between the Guru and Madho Das :

Guru—"Who are you?"

Madho Das—"I am your humble servant; (*Banda*)."

Guru—"Are you a true *Banda* or *banda* merely by the empty words of the mouth?"

Madho Das—"Truly in body, as well as in mind."

Guru—"Banda must serve his master."

Madho Das—"I am quite prepared to serve you in any way."

Thus Madho Das was thenceforward named Banda. The Guru found in him a very useful, competent and reliable person, and explained to him the various tricks, tactics and oppressions committed by the Hill Rajas and the Imperial Muhammadan commanders. These details made a deep and indelible impression on Banda's mind. Soon after that he was deputed to bring all the oppressors to book. He was given all the necessary instructions and a plan of action to be followed in the Panjab.

The Guru then granted his own sword to Banda, but it was instantaneously usurped by the Singhs with the remark that they were undergoing and experiencing so much for that very sword that they would not allow anybody else to have and use it. On this the Guru was very pleased and exclaimed that the Khalsa had grown up quite competent to wield the sword and conduct the field operations independently. Thereafter he gave Banda five arrows and various other weapons to wear, and at the same time he conferred upon him the title of 'Banda

1. As regards the date of this meeting see footnote at page 198 *et seq.*

Bahadur'. In regard to religion, although, Banda became his disciple, the Guru did not deem it advisable to initiate him with *pahul*,² and while imparting to him his spiritual power, he strictly enjoined upon him to observe the following rules, the disregard of which was destined to lead him to misery, ignominy and wretchedness. Otherwise he was to continue invincible :

1. He should not marry, nor indulge in sexual inter-course.
2. He should ever be truthful, never resorting to falsehood.
3. He should not start a new religion of his own.
4. He should never use a cushion in a Sikh Temple.
5. He should not allow himself to be called Guru.
6. He should always live in brotherly love and peace with the Singhs, never arrogating his might in their presence.

Twenty-five Singhs were asked by the Guru, to accompany him, and he directed his course towards the Panjab. At the same time the Guru issued edicts to the Singhs in the Panjab, to join him for the prosecution of the grand undertaking with which he was entrusted. He came to the Panjab in rapid marches and, as soon as his arrival was known, thousands began to gather under his banner in small detachments. He began to attack and plunder the Muhammadan villages. At Bahuna, near Kaithal, he plundered the Imperial Treasury (consisting of the revenue collections of Malwa) which was on its way to Delhi. After that he fell upon Samana, an ancient and wealthy town, and ravaged it, with a thorough massacre of the Muslim population, without any regard to age or sex. The families of Sayad Jalal-ud-Din, the executioner of Guru Teg Bahadur, and of those leaders and grandees who had deceived Guru Gobind Singh by treacherously inducing him to evacuate the fort of Anandpur, were ferreted out and exterminated. Banda halted there for about a week and then marched upon Sarhind. On his way, he plundered Sanaur, Ghuram, Thaska, Shahabad and Kunipura, the residence of Wazir Khan, Governor of Sarhind. Damla to which to 500 Pathans³ who turned traitors to Guru Gobind Singh in *Baisakh*

2. It has now been conclusively proved that Banda was administered *Pahul* by Guru Gobind Singh himself. For details see Ganda Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur*: 13-15. (Sikh History Research Deptt. Khalsa College, Amritsar 1935).

3. Vide Chapter X, pp. 170-171.

V.S. 1744 (April 1687 A.D.) belonged, also tasted their fate in the same way. Sadhaura, also fell and Muhammadans were cruelly and mercilessly dealt with. Then Chhat Banur had to suffer for its sins.

At about the same time 2,000 Singhs were coming from Majha to join Banda, but Wazir Khan, Governor of Sarhind, having heard of it tried to intercept them. Nawab Sher Muhammad Khan of Malerkotla and Dilawar Khan, *Faujdar* were deputed with 5 guns and 5,000 horses for the purpose. They also collected handsome levies in the neighbourhood. A heavy battle was fought which ended in complete disaster to the Muslim army, leaving their guns, arms and all ammunition in the hands of the Singhs, who joined Banda immediately, notwithstanding a great many obstructions on their way.

Since Wazir Khan had heard how the districts in his charge were subjected to rapine and plunder, he had been collecting troops and warlike equipments. Four or five *faujdar*s (Commanders and *Zamindars*) of note joined him. Declaring a holy war against Banda, he collected numerous combatants who were eager to obtain martyrdom, and personally marched with a large army. A sanguinary battle was fought at Vadali and Nanheri near Sarhind. Great bravery was displayed on both sides but especially by the Singhs. They advanced sword in hand against the elephants, and brought two of them down. The imperial army was hardly able to endure the repeated attacks of the Singhs, notwithstanding the superiority of the former in numbers and guns. While the battle was raging, a strong storm set in and with that the Singhs rushed at the enemy with drawn swords in their hands and put them to flight. "Money and baggage, horses and elephants fell," says Khafi Khan, "into the hands of the infidels (Singhs) and not a man of the army of Islam escaped with more than his life and the clothes he stood in. Horsemen and footmen in great numbers fell under the swords of the infidels, who pursued them as far as Sarhind." During that confusion Wazir Khan fell from his horse and was taken alive. The Singhs made their entry into the town of Sarhind on *Vadi* 14th *Jeth* V.S. 1765 (June 1708 A.D.).

Sarhind then was an opulent town. Wealthy merchants,

bankers, tradesmen and gentlemen of every class resided there. Learned and religious men lived there in great numbers. The entry of Banda was so sudden and sharp that no one found the opportunity of saving his life, wealth or family. They were all seized with panic. Banda began to dole out the most vindictive punishment on the Muhammadan population. The city was set on fire. Muslims were slaughtered indiscriminately without regard to age or sex. Every Muhammadan, who fell in their hands, was butchered bayoneted, strangled, hanged, shot down, hacked to pieces or burnt alive. Heaps of the dead were visible in streets and bazars. Plunder and carnage continued for three days together. On the fourth day peace was restored, and the inhabitants, who had fled and taken shelter in the jungles, were permitted to return home. Diwan Sucha Nand, who had been instrumental in the murder of the two infant sons of Guru Gobind Singh, was caught alongwith his family. All his near and dear relations were done to death in his presence. Then he was made to walk with a thread in his nose through the bazars, after which he met his miserable, disgraceful and ignominious death.

Wazir Khan had his turn then. The whole of his family met a wretched death in his presence. He himself was tortured and then burnt alive. His house alongwith that of his Diwan, was demolished and ploughed over. Each and every individual who had in any way, directly or indirectly helped in the cruel and inhuman death of the infants, was ferreted out and treated according to his merits. The bricks of the town were, as far as possible, thrown into the river in accordance with the prophecy of Guru Gobind Singh.⁴ The practice still continues and the bricks of the town, which was ruined by Banda and afterwards by Singhs have since practically disappeared. Even the brick bats there were excavated and used on the Railway Line.

The work of executing the offenders continued for 8 days. The mosques were polluted and burnt down. *Mullabs*, *Maulvis* and *Hafizes* were subjected to various indignities and cruel tortures. The whole Muhammadan world began to echo with the doings of Banda and they felt no hesitation in kissing his

4. See page 191.

feet and paid him unreserved homage. The province (*Sarkar*) of Sarhind was occupied. Baj Singh was appointed its Governor with Mali Singh as Diwan. All other necessary arrangements were made for its proper administration and the collection of revenue in all the subordinate districts. Its annual revenue then was Rs. 52,00,000. This victory induced thousands to embrace Khalsaism.

At about this time, it was complained that the followers of Ram Rai at Pail had maltreated one Bulaka Singh for reciting the hymns of the tenth Guru. Banda went there and chastised the offenders. Then appointing the complainant as *Thanedar* of that town, he proceeded towards Malerkotla, but the Nawab submitted and paid a tribute of Rs. 10,000. Rai Kot also presented Rs. 5,000 with some horses. Banda occupied the fort of Mukhlisgarh situated in the hills about 25 miles from Sadhaura, and named it Lohgarh. He fortified and provided it with immense stores of war and then retired into the *Joharsar* hills for divine worship in seclusion. The Sikhs had now occupied Panipat, Tiravri and Malwa.

When accounts of the devastation caused by Banda reached His Majesty, 5,000 horses were despatched under *faujdar*s like Yarbeg Khan and Shah Inayat Ullah. The Governor of Lahore was directed to send reinforcements. The Singhs fought at Tiravri, Sarhind and Kharar but were defeated. The third battle was fought at Burail, and when the fight was going on Banda chanced to come out of the hills and joined the Singhs. When the Imperialists heard of his arrival, they lost heart and the Singhs, on the other hand, picked up their courage and fought with great vehemence, routing the enemy in disaster. Many nobles fell to the sword. The Singhs pursued the enemy for ten *kos* and in *Baisakh*, V.S. 1766 (1709 A.D.) took possession of Sarhind again. Banda destroyed the Ranghars of Morinda Baganwala, who had caught and taken the infant sons of Guru Gobind Singh from Kheri to Sarhind. Thereafter he marched against Saharanpur. The Governor of that place, Ali Muhammad Khan, collected a large number of combatants for a religious war, but when he heard of Banda's advance, he was terror-struck and fled alongwith his relatives towards Delhi. The inhabitants offered a bold resistance to the invaders for three

days and then gave way. Plunder and carnage were carried out as elsewhere. A whole Sayad family at Behut who were notorious in cow-killing, was slain. Only one member survived who was then absent from the village.

The Nawabs of Najibabad and Jalalabad were asked to submit or to try their luck with the sword. An ultimatum for two months was given to them. The former paid homage and the latter prepared to fight. Plundering Ambala and Nanauta on his way, Banda besieged Jalalabad. A severe battle went on for many days but victory remained uncertain. There was great slaughter on both sides. Banda applied ladders to the walls of the fort in order to get over it. Hundreds lost their lives in the attempt. The siege was conducted with great bravery and intrepidity, but as the town was on high ground and water was plentiful, Banda considered it advisable to raise the siege.

Leaving Jalalabad, the Singhs went off to attack Sultanpur and the *Parganahs* of Jalandhar Doab. They wrote to Shams Khan, *faujdar*, to submit, but he encountered them with a large army accompanied by over a hundred thousand *zamindars*, gentlemen of every tribe, peasants and mechanics, as the war was declared to be a holy war against the infidels. The Singhs, numbering about 70 to 80 thousand horse and foot, took the fort of Rahon, and after a heavy battle with Shams Khan, they were overpowered owing to the superiority of the enemy in number, and were obliged to retreat towards Rahon. They evacuated that fort also, but reoccupied it immediately, driving the Muslim garrison away.

Karnal and Panipat had been recovered by the Imperial officers, but Banda took them again and the *faujdar* there fled after a nominal fight.

At this time the Emperor directed Akhgar Khan Turani to march against Banda with 12,000 horses from Delhi. Another army was also collected and they gave battle near Ladva in *Jeth*, V.S. 1766 (June 1709 A.D.). The Singhs were defeated there and again at Shahabad. Akhgar Khan occupied Sarhind and sent an army in pursuit of the Singhs who had retired to the hills.

When the Singhs dispersed, the Muslims resumed their oppression upon the Hindus with greater severity. Singhs were especially persecuted, nay tortured to death. The garrison at

Lohgarh informed Banda Bahadur of the reverses the Singhs had sustained, and in *Bhadon* V.S. 1766 (August 1709 A.D.) he sharply came out of the hills and advanced upon Sarhind. Wazir Khan,⁵ Governor of that place, fought near Ropar,⁶ but after a sharp and short skirmish, fled towards Delhi. Banda Bahadur regained all the country which had formerly been in possession of the Singhs.

For about 8 or 9 month, from the neighbourhood of Delhi to the environs of Lahore, all the towns and places of note were pillaged and ransacked by the Singhs. Muhammadans in countless numbers were slain, the whole country was wasted, and mosques and tombs were razed. When all these details reached him, the Emperor was on his way back from Dakhan to Delhi, and sent Muhammad Amin Khan with a strong force against the Singhs. He instructed him to destroy the *thanas* (military posts) established by Banda and to re-establish the Imperial posts and to restore the impoverished condition of the people. Banda met him with over forty thousand horse and foot and on 5th December, 1709 (*Maghar*, V.S. 1766) a sanguinary battle was fought near Shahabad in which the Imperial force, being completely defeated, retired towards Karnal. On the fifth day, the broken army was reinforced by the arrival of fresh troops from Lahore and Rajputana and another encounter took place at Ranba and Sikri. After heavy bloodshed on both sides the Singhs gave way. A third fight took place at Ladva. When the battle was at its height heavy rain came on and continued for about a week owing to which the royal force suffered extremely; their supplies also were consumed. Thousands of soldiers, especially the Dakhanies, who were unaccustomed to the cold of those parts, fell ill and died. The stench arising from the dead animals became intolerable. This was attributed to the witchcraft and sorcery of Banda. Therefore the Imperialists left the field. Several *faujdar*s and officers of repute were killed.

5. This was another Wazir Khan. The one who tortured to death the infant sons of Guru Gobind Singh; was put on death as already stated.

6. The above account is incorrect. This battle was fought at Raipur (about 30 kms. north west of Jammu) and not at Ropar. Beyazid Khan Kheshgi of Kasur who was killed in this battle was the leader of this expedition. See Ganda Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur*, p. 164.—Ed.

At this His Majesty deputed Prince Rafi-ul-Shan with several famous *faujdar*s to chastise the Singhs again. A heavy battle was fought at Saharanpur-Buria which resulted in the decisive defeat of Banda. Most of the Singhs entered the hills and Banda got into the Lohgarh fortress. The enemy pursued and besieged him. The siege was continued for a long time and provisions as well as ammunition began to run short. The garrison inflicted heavy losses on the imperial force by nocturnal attacks and frequent sallies. It is stated that one day Banda with a drawn sword in hand, at the head of a squadron, rushed into the enemy's entrenchments and effected an immense slaughter. Heaps of the dead were seen all around and the terror-stricken enemy felt as if the angel of death was moving down the Muslim field. Panic ensued in the enemy's camp and they were obliged to retreat several *kos*⁷ back. The Prince was reinforced by other troops from the neighbourhood there and the whole army was called upon to take oath on the Quran to die in the field. The attack was renewed with a still greater impetuosity and continued for many days. The garrison was left with nothing to eat or to prosecute the defence. Then Banda exchanged his dress with one Bhagu, a tobacco-seller in the royal army, who resembled him and contrived to escape to the hills, giving necessary instructions to Bhagu and others left with him. Next day the imperial force stormed the fortress after a slight struggle. Bhagu was taken for Banda, and great rejoicings followed the capture. The Emperor bestowed many presents on those who took the news to him. Mun'im Khan, Khan Khanan, an old and faithful servant of the Crown, expected great honours for this success, but fate was against him. When the deception was discovered, it drew the wrath of His Majesty upon that officer. He pined with vexation, contracted a variety of diseases, which neither Greek nor European physicians could cure, and died. Great efforts were made to pursue and catch Banda but in vain. The Raja of Sirmor was charged with having allowed him to pass through his territory and was sent as a State-prisoner to Delhi. When the Imperial army, after a fruitless struggle withdrew, Banda came

7. *Kos* is an ancient Indian measure used for distances. Usually it is taken to be equivalent to 1½ mile or 2.4 kms.—editor.

out of the hills and took possession of Sarhind and its dependencies. The Emperor, in *Assu* V.S. 1768 (October 1711 A.D.)⁸ came in person to capture Banda, but, as soon as his advance was heard of, Banda retired to the hills. A large army was again detailed to pursue and arrest him but in vain. When Banda entered into the hills and the royal army was in pursuit, he came to Pathankot and killed Shams Khan and Bazid Khan in an encounter, and ravaged distant regions.

The Emperor, at about this time, was informed that it was deemed a great sin in this sect to shave the hair of the head or beard. Thereafter a proclamation was issued requiring the Hindus in general to shave off their beards. Many submitted to this disgrace but some men of fame and status committed suicide to save the honour of their beards. Beside this, it was ordered that all Singhs should be indiscriminately put to the sword wherever they could be found. Thousands of innocent Hindus were assassinated on suspicion of their associating with Singhs.

After detailing a royal force to pursue and capture Banda the Emperor came to Lahore and owing to the rebellion of the Singhs in the Panjab, he deemed it necessary to remove his capital from Delhi to Lahore, and soon after his arrival there, he died in *Phagan* V.S. 1768 (16th February 1712 A.D.). He left no will and the usual struggle for sovereignty at once ensued among his four sons. Availing himself of that opportunity Banda came out of the hills again and re-occupied Sarhind. Anarchy and confusion prevailed and the Singhs, descending to the plains bordering on the Indus, again united and gathered under the banner of their leader.

In V.S. 1770 (1713 A.D.) Banda challenged the Rajas of Nahan, Nalagarh, Bilaspur and other Hill Rajas to fight or to submit. They found themselves unable to encounter him and he accepted their allegiance. At the same time the Muhammadan *Jagirdars* of Ropar, Basi, Kiri, Bahlolpur and others in that neighbourhood, paid him homage. After that he crossed the Satluj at Machhiwara and entered the Jalandhar Doab. Amin Khan, *faujdar*, met him there, but after a short skirmish submitted.

8. Some authors place the date of the Emperor's advance on Banda in person, a little earlier but this date seems more reliable.

The Governor of Jalandhar also submitted and paid a handsome *nazrana* giving up one-half of his territory. Thereafter Banda came to Amritsar and attended the *Baisakhi* fair on 1st *Baisakh* V.S. 1771 (April 1714 A.D.). He then convened a royal *darbar* and arrayed himself in royal dress with an aigrette or plume on this head. This pomp and show impresses upon the people that the Muhammadan rule was waning and about to be replaced by the Khalsa ascendancy. Thus the people, in batches of thousands, were induced to embrace the faith.

On leaving Amritsar, Banda punished the Ranghars at Sathiala and Butala and then took Gurdaspur and Pathankot. After that he attacked Batala in the Gurdaspur District. The two Sayads, Muhammad Fazl Gilani and Shekh-ul-Ahad, were the Muhammadan leaders there. The former on the approach of the Singhs fled to Sultanpur in the Jalandhar Doab and the latter prepared for defence. He was killed after a bold stand and his followers dispersed after a great slaughter. The gates were forced open and the town was set on fire and given to pillage and indiscriminate massacre, beginning with the *Muhallas* or *Qazis* who were the most wealthy in the town.

During that year, Banda repaired and fortified the old fort of Gurdaspur and collected immense military stores there. At the same time he invited the Hill Rajas in the neighbourhood of Kangra to fight or to submit. They replied in a taunting letter and prepared to encounter him. But they could not stand the brunt of the Singh's attack and submitted.

When Bahadur Shah died, his son Jahandar Shah succeeded him as Emperor. His reign was brief and of too effeminate a character to do anything against Banda. At the end of December 1712, the Emperor was confined and his nephew Farrukhsiar, son of prince Azim-ul-Shah ascended the throne on 1st January 1713 and commenced his reign of terror. He was determined on the extirpation of the Singhs. Abdul Samad Khan, surnamed Diler Jang, a Turani nobleman, Governor of Kashmir came in 1715 A.D. from Kashmir at the head of a large army and was joined by Muhammad Amin Khan, who was sent by the emperor with a large body of chosen troops from the eastern districts. The Singhs fighting with Abdul Samad on the one side and Muhammad Amin Khan on the other, rallied at

Sarhind. They fought very boldly for about two months, but owing to the absence of their leader, they were compelled to take shelter in the fort at Lohgarh. The enemy besieged it. When the fight was going on, Banda came out of his hill fortresses. His arrival greatly raised the spirits of the garrison and struck the enemy with terror, because his mere presence served the royalists as a bugbear. The garrison sallied out and Banda made a simultaneous attack. The enemy was routed and pursued for a considerable distance with a great slaughter. The country lying between Lahore and the banks of Jamna, came into the possession of the Singhs.

After the battle, Banda came to the fort of Gurdaspur. In *Har* V.S. 1773 (July 1716 A.D.) Zabardast Khan, Governor of Kashmir, and Aslam Khan, Governor of Lahore, attacked him with a large army but were repulsed with heavy loss.

During the same year the Pathans of Qasur, Shams-ud-Din and Tahir Khan fought with Singhs near Jalandhar and were completely routed.

At about the same time when the Pathans of Qasur were fighting against the Singhs, Wazir Khan, Governor of Jammu, alongwith his brother Shams-ud-Din Khan, *Faujdar*, marched against the Singhs and drove them out of Sarhind. Banda encountered them near Rahon and compelled them to retire.

Thus fighting, a struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed had long been going on. No stone was left unturned on the part of the imperialists to persecute and destroy the Singhs, whilst the Singhs retaliated with rigid severity. Injuries and indignities were inflicted on Muhammadans, and the destruction of mosques and tombs was looked upon by them as a righteous and meritorious act. The mere name of Banda was quite sufficient to strike terror into the minds of the Muhammadans. Their army was shattered by repeated and harassing campaigns, the country was turning into a mere waste caused by the constant influx and retreat as well as the marauding expeditions of the Singhs. The Emperor got tired of the reports and complaints which reached him daily of the ever increasing distress of his dominions. When all other expedients failed, he devised a plan to utilise the influence of the Matas Sundri and Sahib Devi, widows of the deceased Guru Gobind Singh who were then

residing at Delhi. His Majesty asked them to induce Banda to abandon his predatory profession, on which he and his followers could be granted *Jagirs*. Banda replied that no faith could be put in the Emperor; that he wanted to allure them by offer of *Jagirs* to their ultimate annihilation. On receipt of this reply the Emperor imprisoned the ladies with the idea that Singhs would come to terms in order to save the honour of the ladies. Thereupon the ladies sent a painful letter to Banda asking him to submit. He replied that they must endure everything because the submission of the Khalsa to a tyrant, would mean the frustration of the Guru Gobind Singh's mission. The ladies requested him to submit to the authority of His Majesty on pain of excommunication. Banda's reply to this was also in the negative with the remarks, that he was merely a *Bairagi Faqir* and had neither friend nor foe; that he was not a follower of Guru Gobind Singh and therefore could not be excommunicated;⁹ and that he was merely carrying out the orders of Guru Gobind Singh with regard to the campaign of vengeance for the destruction of the tyrant, and the protection of the Khalsa. Upon this Banda was charged with disobedience and disregard of Guru Gobind Singh's commandments and edicts were issued for his excommunication on the following grounds.

1. That he had married, breaking the celibacy¹⁰ which was enjoined upon him.
2. Contrary to Guru Gobind Singh's advice, he had started his own religion.
3. That he had substituted *Charan Pahul* for *Khande-di-Pahul*.
4. That he had invented *Fateh darshan* (victory to faith instead of *Fateh Vahguru ji ki* (Victory to the Lord).
5. That Singhs were called *Bandai* (Banda's) instead of Guru's.
6. That he attired himself in royal dress, which was against the Guru's orders.

9. Banda had forsaken the *Bairagi* attire. He was administered *Khande-di-Pahul* and was admitted to the Khalsa brotherhood. See Ganda Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur*, 15.—Ed.

10. Celibacy is not a requirement in the Sikh religion. Infact Sikhism is a religion of the householders where everyone must marry and raise a family.—Ed.

7. That he called himself the eleventh Guru of the Singhs, and
8. That he displayed pride and arrogance and meant to rule over the Singhs instead of considering himself their brother and equal.

This edict was sealed with the curse¹¹ that owing to disregard of these commandments Banda; was sure to die in imprisonment. On receipt of this edict, the true Singhs (or Tat Khalsa) separated themselves from Banda, who leaving them at Amritsar, went to Gurdaspur.

The Singhs were thus divided between themselves and became antagonistic to each other.

The news of this division pleased and gratified the Emperor. He proposed to enlist their services on his own side and sent a long letter with precious presents offering a *Jagir* of Rs. 51,000 for the old and aged Singhs and invited the young ones for Imperial service on a handsome salary. The offer was accepted and 500 Singhs entered the royal service at Lahore. The rate of pay fixed was Rs. 15 per mensem for the foot and Rs. 30 per mensem for the mounted soldier. The Sardars were to get Rs. 5 daily each. For the maintenance of the rest Rs. 5,000 per mensem and the *Parganah* of Jhabal was granted in *Jagir*. The treaty of peace contained the following terms for guidance of the parties :

1. That the Khalsa would not attack any territory under the Mughal Empire;
 2. That they were precluded from helping Banda;
 3. That if any foreign enemy attacked the Panjab, it was incumbent upon the Tat Khalsa to help the Government;
 4. That the money and *Jagir* allotted to the Khalsa were never to be varied;
 5. That no Hindu in the Panjab should, in future, be forced to embrace Islam;
 6. That the Hindus were, for the future, at liberty to perform their religious ceremonies in any way they liked;
11. Sikhism preaches welfare of all and sundry (*Sarbat da bhala*) and accepting the divine will cheerfully. There is no provision for showering curses even on the enemy of the Panth.—Ed.

7. That the Hindus of the Panjab were, in future, to pay no extra tax in excess of Muhammadans;
8. That any Singh undertaking agriculture would be required only to pay revenue at half-rates;
9. That the slaughter of cattle (kine) in the Panjab was to cease for ever;
10. That in future, no Muhammadan was at liberty to forcibly deflower any Hindu woman.

Thus the separation of the two factions was completed and all efforts and contrivances of Banda failed to effect a reconciliation. Banda's position was greatly affected and he had left with him only about 14,000 combatants. However the courageous Banda did not lose heart and continued to perform his mission of destruction and devastation, pillage and plunder, slaughter and carnage. He subdued Kalanaur and carried his predatory expeditions through Gujranwala, Sialkot, Wazirabad, Shahpur, Jhelam, Rawalpindi and Attak and then, he came back to Gurdaspur. Shortly after that he attacked Lahore and encamped close to the Shalimar gardens. He thought that, though the Tat Khalsa had separated, they would never confront him in the field, as at Kalanaur they had, referring to the terms of their treaty, declined to fight against him. He therefore felt confident of reducing Lahore. The Viceroy of Lahore, Sayad Islam Khan, put the city in a state of defence. Cannons were mounted on the ramparts and all other means possible for its fortification were adopted. He also solicited the aid of the whole Muhammadan population, impressing upon them that their lives, religion and honour were at stake. The appeal was readily answered and all the leading Muhammadans of the time along-with many Hindus, joined the Viceroy. A desperate fight ensued. Thousands fell on both sides, especially the defenders. The imperial army gave way and retired to the city. Next day they assembled again but were defeated with immense slaughter and the town must have fallen into the hands of Banda but for the Tat Khalsa who were prevailed upon by the Governor, Islam Khan, to appear in the field. Banda did not think it advisable to fight with the Singhs and therefore retraced his steps towards Batala. A short time after that Banda tried his best to induce the Singhs to reconciliation explaining to them the deception

of the Muhammadans as well as the destruction which was awaiting them on account of their division. The reply of the Singhs was that the only means leading to such reconciliation were the initiation of Banda with the *Khanda Pahul* and his conforming to all principles of Khalsaim. Therefore Banda had to contend himself with his fate and kept quiet. When the Emperor found that the Singhs had been separated into two antagonistic sections, he sent a strong force of 20,000 troops from Delhi and ordered Samad Khan, Viceroy of Lahore and Zabardast Khan, Governor of Kashmir to collect all available forces to capture Banda.

Shaikh Muhammad Daem, *Faujdar* of Ambala, was defeated by the *Bandai Sikhs*, and he fled in dismay to Lahore. The combined Royal Armies of Delhi, Lahore and Kashmir encountered about 20,000 followers of Banda at Naina Kot. The latter owing to their great inferiority in numbers gave way and scattered in different directions but 7,000 of them joined Banda at Gurdaspur. The Royal Army followed them and besieged the fort. War continued for four months with no result. Khafi Khan in regard to this battle says that "the infidels fought so fiercely that the army of Islam was nearly overpowered; and they over and over again showed the greatest daring". After all, blockade was resorted to and for a long time all communication was entirely cut off. The garrison inflicted a heavy loss on the besiegers. According to Khafi Khan "the infidels on several occasions showed the greatest boldness and daring; and made nocturnal attack upon the imperial forces. The siege lasted a long time. And the enemy exhibited great courage and daring. They frequently made sallies into the trenches and killed many of the besiegers." Provisions and military stores were all exhausted and the garrison began to starve. Banda might have effected his escape if he had attempted to sally out, but he waited to be helped and reinforced by the Tat Khalsa, but in vain. He thought that though they had separated from him, yet, at such a juncture, they would make a common cause of it, and falling upon them from outside they would destroy the enemy. However the Tat Khalsa were too widely separated to join with him again. He wasted a long time in that false hope until the defenders were emaciated with hunger and were

hardly able to stand on their feet. Many deserted him on account of hunger, and at that time, Abdul Samad Khan hoisted a flag with a proclamation promising unconditional pardon and free ration to any of the besieged who came out and surrendered. Many therefore came, tottering to the spot and surrendered themselves. They were given food for a short time and were then coldly massacred. Abdul Samad had three or four thousand of them put to the sword, and he filled that extensive plain with blood as if it had been a dish. Their heads were stuffed with hay and stuck upon spears. Khafi Khan says this number belonged to the companions of Banda who were, alongwith him given quarter; but that is wrong, because Banda never asked for quarter. It appears that when several Bandai Sikhs who were dying of hunger were attracted by the proclamation of Abdul Samad's banner, Abdul Samad learnt from them the secret of the garrison and then, perfidiously and treacherously put them to the sword. If we follow Khafi Khan, the same breach of faith is established. According to other historians Banda never asked for a quarter, and when he was reduced to extremities and life was despaired of, he sallied out with all of his half-dead companions and poured havoc on the enemy. It is said that many of his followers while working ravage were overpowered by mere hunger and unconsciously fell down upon the ground. Many died of exhaustion and others fell senseless into the hands of the enemy. The valour and daring they exhibited and the slaughter they committed extorted praise from the enemy. It is said that when Banda was alone and surrounded by the enemy, they formed a circle around him with a radius of about two paces. None dared catch hold of him. He pressed in different directions like a lion in a flock of sheep and the enemy fell shaking and trembling on the ground, being afraid of the formidableness of his appearance. And it was after 59 combatants of the circle had fallen under his sword, that he was taken in *Poh* V.S. 1772 (January 1716 A.D.).

Banda with one of his infant sons, and about 1,000 Singhs and about 2,000 stuffed heads stuck upon spears reached Delhi in chains via Lahore under charge of Zakaria Khan, son of Abdul Samad Khan. At Delhi the prisoners were subjected to the greatest ignominy in various ways. One hundred of them were

daily beheaded in a public place called Chandani Chowk.¹² They met their doom with the utmost indifference; nay they contested for priority of martyrdom. Many stories are told of them and Khafi Khan as an eye-witness relates the following :

"When the executions were going on, the mother of one of the prisoners, a young man just arrived at manhood, having obtained some influential support, pleaded the cause of her son with great feeling and earnestness before the Emperor and Sayad Abdullah Khan. She represented that her son had suffered imprisonment and hardship at the hands of the sect. His property was plundered, and he was made prisoner. While in captivity he was, without any fault of his own, introduced into the sect, and now stood innocent among those sentenced to death. Farrukhsiar commiserated this artful woman, and mercifully sent an officer with orders to release the youth. That cunning woman arrived with the order of release just as the executioner was standing with his bloody sword held over the young man's head. She showed the order for his release. The youth then broke out into complaints, saying, "My mother tells a lie. I with heart and soul joined my fellow believers in devotion to the Guru; send me quickly after my companions."

Banda's execution was left for the last day. He was dragged from his cage like a wild beast and in mockery dressed in a magnificent princely robe. The heads of his followers were paraded on pikes around him. Without the least hesitation he killed his son with his own hands in compliance with the imperial order. After that he was brought before a mock tribunal for judgement. When the executioner was standing with a drawn sword behind him, the Emperor asked him what mode of death he preferred. His stern reply was that the Emperor was doomed to die in the same way as he would. Therefore

12. Banda and his comrades were executed near the shrine of Khwaja Qutab-ud-Din Bakhtyar Kaki close to the famous Qutab Minar. Here he was paraded around the tomb of Emperor Bahadur Shah. See Ganda Singh, *Banda Singh Bahadur*, 232.—Ed.

he would leave it for His Majesty to choose for himself.¹³ This answer inflamed the Emperor and he ordered that his flesh should be torn piece-meal with red hot pincers and that the process should be continued from day to day until he died. He suffered this with the utmost indifference. He was calm and above pain. Najam-du-Daula witnessed this scene for two days and then in wonder and admiration at his behaviour, asked him the secret of his calmness and insensibility to pain. Banda replied that it was the result of his divine knowledge and the assumption of true warrior-ship; that the faculty sensible of pleasure and pain was the mind, which he had thoroughly brought under his control; and that his real self, which was his soul, was quite distinct and separate from both the body and mind and was also above feelings. The Wazir then asked him why he, being a *faqir* and a man of unquestionable knowledge and abilities had committed such outrageous offences that he had burnt the Muhammadans alive; that he had dug out and burnt the bones of the dead; that he had slaughtered the Muslims without any regard to age and sex; that he never mounted his horse unless he had beheaded several Muhammadans, and that being merely a *faqir* he had distinguished between Hindus and Muhammadans. Banda replied that nothing happens without the orders of the Almighty. When the oppression of the Mussalmans upon the Hindus passed all bounds, the Great Avenger, as in all similar cases, raised an executioner for the punishment of their sins and to recompense the tyrant for his works. Thereon he was asked why, being in possession of so much divine knowledge and miraculous power, he was suffering in Muhammadan confinement. His reply was, that it was due to his own fault, because he had exceeded the powers given him by his great master Guru Gobind Singh. Otherwise he was invincible. Then he was asked if he really possessed miraculous power, why did he not escape the hardship he was undergoing? Banda answered that he was competent to do so but that he was bound

13. Farrukhsiar was blinded by *shiite* Sayyads in 1719, kept for two months in a dark cell. He was done to death by a team of professional executioners on the night of 27-28 April 1719. See Muni Lal, *Mini Mughals*, 143-44. (Konark Publishers, Delhi, 1989).

to suffer for his transgression of the Guru's orders, and that if he escaped punishment now, he would be compelled to take another birth for that purpose. Therefore it was incumbent upon him to suffer the recompense of his actions in the present life.

It is said that at the close of this conversation the Wazir interceded with the Emperor who ordered that Banda should be released provided he embraced Islam. On receipt of this order, Banda refused to carry it out and vehemently abused the Muhammadan religion. The Emperor was enraged and ordered the executioners to drag him to death tying him behind an elephant.¹⁴ When he was considered to have died, his body was thrown on the banks of the Jamuna in the evening, as food for crows and wild beasts. However it is said that he managed through a certain mental process to outlive the torture and resuscitated himself. It is also stated that afterwards he was asked by certain Singhs to resume their leadership but owing to the gulf which had greatly widened between his own followers and members of Tat Khalsa, as well as other circumstances, he declined to accede to their wishes. He retired to the Jammu territory and settled his family close to Bhabbar (Bhimbar) on the bank of river Chenab, in the Riasi *Parganah* of the Jammu State. Passing the remainder of his life as a peaceful ascetic, he died in *Jeth* V.S. 1798 (1741 A.D.). A shrine now stands there, and some villages are attached to it for its maintenance.

Baba Banda had three wives of whom there were three sons, but only one of them survived him. His descendants are still alive and are in charge of his shrine.

Banda Bahadur had an undaunted and bold spirit. He was not selected by Guru Gobind Singh as his successor, but as an avenging agent for chastising the tyrant and shaking the foundations of a tyrannical Government. Although he poured out cold-blooded atrocities on the Muhammadans especially where tyranny, oppression or revenge were concerned, yet he was not indifferent to overtures of peace and abstinence from bloodshed, of course with the exception of Sarhind and a few other

14. Different stories are told about the mode of his death but this seems to be the most reliable. However we are still making further investigations as to this and his resuscitation.

instances. He usually invited the chief, he intended to attack, and asked him to submit. It was only in those cases where submission was declined, that he, as naturally and reasonably could be expected, resorted to the sword. There is not a single instance suggested by Muhammadans or other writers of his time, being charged with perfidy or breach of promise. On the other hand, there are many instances, acknowledged by Muslim authors, when treachery and breach of faith were the rule of Imperial Officers and the commanders. Moreover the Muhammadan masses were cruel and oppressive towards their Hindu neighbours. Under the circumstances, if Banda worked havoc and took ravage upon Muhammadans and wielded the sword of revenge against them as a God-sent scourge, we cannot accuse him of cruelty and monstrosity as our Muhammadan brethren had done. The Muhammadans were suffering a just retribution of heaven at his hands and they were being taught that, in spite of sovereign power, the Almighty was sure to visit punishment upon the cruel and monstrous enemies of mankind acting in the name of religion.

At the same time it is quite true that Banda had exceeded the authority given to him by Guru Gobind Singh, and he had transgressed and disregarded his commandments. He substituted for the form of social and religious salutation a form of his own. He changed the form and procedure of *Pahul* initiation; tried to call himself the Eleventh Guru; and endeavoured to force his innovations upon the orthodox Singhs. He might have continued as an invincible leader and a thorough and complete wrecker of the Mughal Empire, but for these transgressions and innovations which left him a forlorn adventurer. He forfeited all sympathy of the true Singhs and, as he confessed, suffered, in his turn, a just punishment for the violation of his sacred promise to the Guru.

CHAPTER XII

THE TAT KHALSA

As soon as the Tat (True or orthodox) Khalsa separated themselves from Banda, they were granted *Jagir* or handsome allowances for their maintenance as described in the preceding chapter. Some of them were employed in Imperial service and some took to cultivation. However when Banda was dragged to death as has already been stated in the last chapter, the Muhammadan Officers directed their attention towards the persecution and extermination of the Tat Khalsa. They created excuses to find fault with them as the basis for their action. The *Jagir* was confiscated and the promised salaries were reduced to one-half of the sanctioned rates. Thereon the majority resigned the service and found other means of earning subsistence. Some went to Rajputana in search of employment. When the Khalsa army thus scattered, the Governor of Lahore found a suitable opportunity to further weaken them by persecution. A proclamation was issued calling upon all persons to put in their claims for the property they had lost during the time of Banda. Numerous claims were preferred against Singhs and mock decrees were passed against them. Their property was seized and auctioned for nominal prices in payment of the decree. When their property could not liquidate the decree, debtor was thrown into a dungeon for the balance. Where the complainant charged a Singh with murder, the accused was to choose between death or conversion to Islam.

Immediately after the issue of the above proclamation, drastic and sweeping measures were taken for the extermination of the Singhs. We think we cannot do better than reproduce what Sayad Muhammad Latif says :

"Abdul Samad Khan, having humiliated the Sikhs and

caused the destruction of their leader Banda, now took vigorous steps to destroy their power and to extirpate the race. A royal edict was issued to put all who professed the religion of Nanak to the sword, and a monetary reward was announced for the head of every Sikh. The irritated Muhammadans gave them no quarter, and wherever a Sikh was found, he was butchered unmercifully. In order to give full effect to the royal mandate Muhammadans and Hindus were strictly enjoined to clip their hair short. The Hindus were ordered to shave their heads. Any Hindu found with long beard or hair was immediately slain. These extreme measures of resentment and persecution spread terror and consternation throughout the whole Sikh nation. Those who remained of them, fled to the mountains to the north-east of the Panjab or concealed themselves in remote jungles. Many who could not abandon their homes changed their external appearance, had their beard and moustaches clipped, and gave up their outward form of worship."

Considering how the Singhs of that time were inflexibly firm in their faith, we cannot believe the correctness of the last sentence of the above quotation. However, it clearly indicated what treatment was dealt out to the Khalsa. When the news of this oppression reached the Singhs in Rajputana, they obtained permission of their employers to return to the Panjab. They fixed Malwa as their rendezvous and about 6,000 Singhs gathered there. They rushed like hungry lions upon the flock of sheep. They traversed the country from end to end, inflicted severe punishment on those who had preferred claims against Singhs or had in any way contributed towards their persecution. The property of the Singhs taken by Muhammadans in execution of decrees, was restored to the real owners. Jails were forced open and the Singhs released from confinement and those who were forcibly converted to Islam were re-united by the administration of the *pahul* ceremony. The forms and modes in which the Singhs were persecuted were tried upon the Muhammadans with multiplied harshness. Thus Muhammadans were humbled and made to kiss the dust. After

the dethroning and imprisonment of Farrukhsiar, the two king-maker, Sayad brothers, Abdullah and Hussain Ali, went on devising the aggrandisement of their own power and during the brief lives of the Emperor's successors, anarchy and mismanagement prevailed in the Empire. The Viceroys and Governors, as is natural under the circumstances, were busy in considering their own future. The Governor of Lahore was especially engaged in chastising the Pathans of Qasur and could not spare time to attend to the incursions of the Singhs. They pillaged the Muhammadan villages and dispensed retributive justice upon them with impunity. They performed pilgrimages to Amritsar fearlessly. They had forfeited this privilege some years ago, but now in V.S. 1782 (1725 A.D.) they proclaimed their intention of holding the Diwali fair. Bhai Mani Singh, who was a devoted follower of Guru Gobind Singh and, since his death, remained in service of his widows at Delhi, was deputed with 6 others to serve the Temple at Amritsar. The offerings of the fair amounted to Rs. 13,000 with a large quantity of grains. The *Bandai* Sikhs, at the time, were numerically more powerful than the orthodox Singhs and claimed the income as their preferential right. The Governor of Lahore had not, at the time, considered it advisable to interfere with the gathering, but devised a plan to widen the gulf between the two factions. He had deputed some well known and influential Hindu Chaudhris of Lahore to further his designs and they instigated the parties to action. When the quarrel arose, the parties went from words to blows, but the opportune intervention of Bhai Mani Singh stopped them. He suggested that the income was the property of the Guru's widows and the claim to the possession of the temple could be settled by having recourse to the common usage among the Singhs. Two chits were prepared. One contained *Vaheguru ji ki fateh* (Victory to the Lord) which was the formula of the Singhs, and the other contained *Dars ki fateh*¹ (Victory to the faith) an innovation of Banda. A child was to drown them both below the surface of the water of the sacred tank of Amritsar at the place called *Har ki Pauri* and the party whose chit came out over the surface, was entitled to hold the

1. *Fateh Darshan* is the correct word introduced by Banda.—Ed.

charge of the temple. The decision, thus arrived at, was in favour of the Singhs, and the majority of the Bandai Sikhs, who had but a shallow faith in the innovation introduced by Banda, embraced the faith of Guru Gobind Singh and were initiated with *Khanda Pabul*. The income from offerings which was the cause of the quarrel, was remitted to the Ladies at Delhi, keeping a part of it for the maintenance of the temple.

In *Magh* 1782 V.S. (1726 A.D.) the Governor of Lahore sent a large army to hunt down all the Singhs in the Panjab. Several severe fights took place and the Singhs were compelled to give way before the overwhelming number of the imperial force. They took shelter in the hills or distant jungles and organising themselves in small groups, continued their deprecatory incursions on the Muhammadans and succeeded in laying waste numerous villages which did not, for many years, recover from the effect of their ravages. Thus the remedy devised by the Governor proved worse than the malady.

In *Phagan* V.S. 1782 (1726 A.D.) one Tara Singh of Dalvan (Van ?) Parganah Patti in the Qasur Tehsil, was attacked by Mirza Jafar Beg, *Faujdar*, at the head of 500 *sowars*. Tara Singh defended himself with 125 men and routed the Mirza with great slaughter. The Mirza was wounded. Two months later the Governor of Lahore despatched Moman Khan *Faujdar*, with 4,000 horse in *Baisakh* V.S. 1783 (April 1726 A.D.). Tara Singh encountered him with about 250 Singhs and was killed after performing praiseworthy feats of bravery and valour. Several other Singhs were killed. But the death showered upon the enemy was incredibly high. Moman Khan and several other leaders of note were killed. Their elephants were severely wounded with arrows and swords and after all panic ensued and the Imperial Force retired to Kambo Mari in disaster. The Singhs did not allow the invading army to carry off their dead until they had dispersed the next day, after performing funeral ceremonies of their own dead in the field.

Notwithstanding the fact that Imperial Army was on its rounds to effect their extirpation, the Singhs in *Poh* V.S. 1783 (January 1727 A.D.) plundered the royal treasury which was on its way from the Chawinda Tahsil to Lahore. They also at about the same time, seized another treasury which was being carried

from Qasur to Lahore. There were many more instances in which the Singhs displayed their undaunted spirit and an exemplary valour as well as contempt of the royal authority. The rebellion began to increase and the peasants could not carry on their agricultural pursuits properly. Whole tracts became desolate and the collection of government revenue became a question of no small difficulty. The former proclamation of the Singhs was renewed. Rewards were offered in *Maghar* V.S. 1784 (December 1727 A.D.) on the following scale.

- Rs. 5 per Singh for help in effecting his capture.
- Rs 10 per Singh captured and presented before the authorities.
- Rs. 20 per head of a Singh severed from the trunk.

Several other high rewards and *jagirs* were offered for services in connection with the uprooting of the Khalsa. These offers turned all the Hindu and Muhammadan population into bitter enemies of the Singhs, who were compelled to bid farewell to their homes.

During such an anarchy and uncertain state of affairs, the royal demand could neither be collected as usual nor transmitted to the imperial exchequer at Delhi for three years together. In V.S. 1786 (1729 A.D.) an imperial order was issued to the Governor of Lahore to remit without further delay, all the arrears due to Delhi, and he was to pay a penalty of Rs. 5,000 per diem in default. Haibat Khan and Abdullah Khan Rohelas were, at the head of 2,000 Rohela soldiers which were despatched from Delhi to carry out the royal mandate. The Governor of Lahore was then in a great dilemma. He issued stringent orders for the collection of revenue, and the revenue payers were dealt with great harshness but in vain. Their crops had been destroyed by the Singhs for several past years and their chattel plundered. They parted with what little they had and their male and female children were sold for about Rs. 10 each. But still the revenue collected formed an insignificant fraction of the total sum due. The Governor dispatched under a strong escort whatever he could collect, with a little more he could manage, and conspiring with the Rohela Sardars he made show of a sum larger than the real amount. At the same

time he secretly put the Singhs on the scent of their prey in order to escape his own ignominy and to excite the Emperor to action against the Singhs. The Singhs attacked and plundered the treasury at Sarai Nur-ud-Din near Tarn Taran. On receipt of these accounts at Delhi with a lengthy and detailed report of the Governor of Lohore, His Imperial Majesty, in V.S. 1787 (1730 A.D.) sent a strong force of 20,000 under *faujdars* like Safdar Khan and Jafar Khan. The Governors of Lahore and Jalandhar were directed to join the Delhi army with all their forces.

It is stated that the Governor of Lahore was now very much afraid. He thought that, notwithstanding all his strenuous efforts, the Singhs had escaped destruction, and that if the Delhi army succeeded in their extinction, he would be disgraced for ever. To all appearances, therefore, he co-operated with the Delhi army but surreptitiously encouraged the Singhs. All the combined forces could do nothing, but suffer heavy losses at the hands of the Singhs who began to encounter and worry the imperial forces in the vicinity of Sarhind. The imperialists came to Lahore in a shattered condition. The Delhi army was convinced of the futility of the campaign, but, at the same time, the Governor of Lahore, thought of his own future troubles on account of the success gained by the Singhs over the imperial army. He therefore proposed to utilize the Delhi force for their destruction and to gain credit for his own capability as well. The whole army was formed into various divisions and employed in different directions. The jungles affording shelter to the Singhs were blockaded and set on fire. The Singhs were either killed or scattered in the neighbouring countryside and the Panjab, for the time being, was thoroughly evacuated and abandoned by the Singh even to a man.

Next year when the imperialists went back to Delhi, the Singhs came out of their abodes and began to infest the Panjab. They wreaked their vengeance upon the Muhammadans with a still greater ferocity and the country began to echo with their hard and harsh behaviour. All leading *zamindars*, artisans and menials simultaneously approached the Governor of Lahore with their bitter complaint and expressed their readiness for a holy war. Their request was granted and a strong army under

Bakhshi Inayat Ulla marched against the Singhs. The people of all descriptions and classes of the Province flocked under the sacerdotal standard and were supplied with arms and military stores from the royal magazine.

About 25,000 Singhs collected in the *chhamb* (shallow lake) of Kahnawan² which was surrounded by a dense jungle. The enemy invested and blockaded it. The besieged lived on spontaneous vegetation of wild animals, and at times committed heavy slaughter among the besiegers by sharp sorties. This continued for about a month, till the jungle was set on fire to compel the Singhs to leave it. At that time the besieged formed into various groups and then steered through the enemy with a thunderlike speed bestowing a heavy slaughter on the besiegers. After that they continued nocturnal attacks which greatly diminished the numbers of the enemy who thought it prudent to retire with a show of triumph on routing a small detachment near Bharthgarh. On their way back to Lahore, proud of their success, they halted for some days at Bhilowal, about 20 miles (32 kms.) from Lahore, and began to feast and carouse. On an early morning in *Assu* V.S. 1788 (October 1731 A.D.) the Singhs, after a long march surprised the camp and butchered the enemy as if they were a flock of sheep marked out for sacrifice. They all fled in different directions leaving many Muhammadans and Hindus of note and repute dead in the camp. The Singhs became masters of the camp, and retreated to the jungles of Sandal Bar with an immense capture of baggage and war materials.

On the occurrence of this catastrophe, the Governor of Lahore became dejected, and confessed that the progress of the Khalsa could in no way be checked. He submitted in V.S. 1789 (1732 A.D.) a long report to Emperor, Muhammad Shah, setting out all the grounds for and against the rebellion of the Singhs, and clearly indicated that their subjugation or annihilation was a problem of no small difficulty and next to impossible, that they had grown alien to submission and that the killing of one was sure to cause a multiplication like the shoots of a stump. He concluded with the remark that if their predatory occupation

continued unchecked, they could be anticipated to attack Delhi, when it would be extremely difficult to repulse them. Therefore he suggested armistice so as to pacify them as was done by his ancestor, Farrukhsiar. On receipt of this report, the Emperor ordered the *bhands* (mimics) to exhibit a play in regard to the Singhs, so that he might be able to know something of their manners and character. When the play was going on, all the spectators were filled with amazement and the Emperor declared that they were really raised by the Almighty from among the birds to swallow up the eagles. Then he proposed an annual *jagir* of Rs. 100,000 and sent a title of Nawab, with a precious robe of honour for the Singhs on the condition that they should cease their predatory occupation. The Governor of Lahore sent the imperial mandate to the Singhs at Amritsar in *Baisakh* V.S. 1790 (April 1733 A.D.) through Sabeg Singh. When the Singhs were holding their Diwan (congregation), Sabeg Singh placed the robe of honour, alongwith the royal orders before their leaders. They refused to accept anything granted by the Emperor, with the remark that they were not going to give up the independent empire promised to them by their Guru, by submitting to the Mughal Empire. The messenger politely argued with them that the present must be accepted by them as betrothal presents of the Emperor's daughter (meaning the Indian empire) and impressed upon them the inadvisability of their return. Then voices of acceptance were heard from the assembly, but no one would accept the title for himself, and it was, contemptuously thrown from one to another, as if it was a ball hit by polo-players. There-upon Sabeg Singh submitted that if none of the leaders was disposed to receive it, it might be given to someone of their servants. Kapur Singh of Faizullapur, was then serving the *sangat* with hand-*pankha* in the Diwan, and all unanimously dressed him with the imperial robe and proclaimed him *Nawab*. From that time they abandoned plunder and took up their permanent residence at Amritsar. They got *Parganahs* of Dipalpur, Kanganwal and Jhabal in *Jagir* and managed to live upon their income. Next year, i.e. in *Sawan* V.S. 1791 (August 1734 A.D. a slight quarrel arose between the Singhs and the elders. Owing to their numerical growth, they considered it difficult for the whole

number to live together and subsist upon the income of the *Jagir*. Therefore it was decided that the Singhs should be divided into two divisions—*Taruna Dal* (young army) and *Budha Dal* (veteran army). The former was divided into five groups (*Jathas*) as under :

1. *Shahids* (martyrs) the leaders of which were Baba Deep Singh, Natha Singh, Gurbaksh Singh and the like.
2. Amritsaris headed by Prem Singh and Dharm Singh, Khattris of Amritsar.
3. Dallewalias led by Dasaunda Singh Gill, Fateh Singh of Bhagtu, Karam Singh and Dyal Singh, Khattris of Dallewala.
4. Baba Kahn Singh's, headed by Bawa Kahn Singh, Miri Singh Bhalla, Hari Singh Dhillon, Bagh Singh Ahluwalia of Hallowal.
5. Ramdasias, whose leaders were Bir Singh, Jiwan Singh, Madan Singh, Amar Singh and other *Ramdasīs* or *Mazhabi Singhs*.

The *Budha Dal* contained many old Sardars like Nawab Kapur Singh, Jassa Singh and Thiraj Singh.³

The *Budha Dal* chiefly stuck to Amritsar, but many members of both *Dals* took to cultivation, while the remaining members of the *Taruna Dal* finding the *Jagir* income insufficient for their maintenance, travelled towards Rajputana in search of employment or other means of livelihood. Thus the Khalsa army was scattered and the garrison, at their headquarters, Amritsar, got extremely weakened. The Governor of Lahore found it a very favourable time to break faith and destroy the sect. He began to find excuses, especially on the ground that the Singhs, who had emigrated towards Rajputana, had plundered certain villages with a view to collect supplies, on their way. The Governor intimated to the Nawab his intention of confiscating the *Jagir*, and offered the Singhs, government service or agriculture. In the latter case he offered them remission of land revenue. But the Nawab very wisely understood the bait laid for them, and replied in plain words that Singhs were not

3. This does not appear to be a correct name.—Ed.

prepared to enter into the imperial service, and that the forfeiture of *Jagir* was sure to rouse them again to their old and forgone occupation with serious results. But the Governor did not care about the answer, and considering their weakened state, issued orders for the confiscation of the *Jagir* in V.S. 1792 (1735 A.D.). Thus a new era was opened for the Singhs. They burned with rage at the breach of faith by the Muhammadans and carried fire and sword throughout the country. Thereupon the Governor was obliged to dispatch 10,000 horse and foot soldiers under Mukhlis Khan, his own nephew, and Diwan Lakhpat Rai. At the same time he renewed the proclamation of rewards for the capture and life of Singhs, which had, for the past few years, been suspended.

As has already been stated, the *Taruna Dal*, at the time was in the direction of Rajputana, whereas only those members of the *Budha Dal* were at Amritsar who had not returned home for agriculture. As the Hindus and Muhammadans, who had worked against the Singhs, on the issue of the previous proclamations, were subsequently ferreted out and chastised by the Singhs, they did not dare to go against them now, but the imperial army harassed the *Budha Dal* for about four months. Many skirmishes took place, but the most important occurred in *Maghar* V.S. 1793 (December 1736 A.D.) near Chuhnian in which both sides lost a great deal, especially the Royal Army, which lost its leader Mukhlis Khan and many others of name and note. After that all the imperialists were tired of the pursuit and returned to Lahore.

When the *Taruna Dal* got news of the persecution practised upon the *Budha Dal*, they hastened back to join them and crossing the Satluj, they plundered the country of the Manj Rajputs which contained several rich and wealthy villages like Nakodar, Bilga, Nur Mahal, Dasanjha Momari and so forth. After that they ravaged some wealthy Parganahs like Dhak, Danna and Kandhi and directed their course towards Amritsar.

The *Budha Dal* went to Barnala and thence returned to Amritsar carrying on pillage and plunder through Malerkotla, Pail, Sarhind, Majha and Doaba. When they reached Basarke, in the vicinity of Amritsar, they were encountered by 7,000 men under Lakhpat Rai, who was deputed by the Governor of

Lahore to restrain them from entering the sacred town. A heavy battle ensued and resulted in the retreat of the *Budha Dal* who were pursued by the Imperial Army upto the village of Khem Karan. However, when the Imperial force was returning towards Lahore they were surprised by the *Taruna Dal* and routed with a tremendous slaughter. Many Imperial leaders fell to the sword, and the Singhs came into possession of immense military stores. Thereafter the two *Dals* joined together and roamed like lions through the Parganahs of Gurdaspur, Kalanaur, Pasrur, Sialkot, Sodra, Wazirabad, Kunjah, Aligarh etc.

On a reference, the Governor of Lahore was, at this time, advised by the *Maulvis*, *Qazis* and astronomers that the only means of checking the progress of the Singhs, was to prevent their access to the sacred tank at Amritsar. *Qazi* Abdul Rahman and Muhammad Bakhsh were, at the head of 2,000 horse and foot, sent to Amritsar to guard the holy reservoir and prevent the Singhs from approaching it. Notwithstanding all the precautions, the Singhs continued to bathe in it in disguise and there are recorded many individual instances of gallantry in which detection and pursuit were defied.

Bhai Mani Singh was a commentator, and had long been in service of Guru Gobind Singh. As has already been stated, he was deputed by the widows of the Guru to manage the temple at Amritsar. He was sent for by the Governor at Lahore and was asked to embrace Islam or suffer the torture of being torn to pieces alive. He preferred the latter, and in *Magh* V.S. 1795 (December 1738 A.D.) all the joints of his body were cut off, beginning with the joints of his forefingers. The Bhai underwent this suffering very quietly and calmly, chanting holy hymns upto the last. The spectators were shocked at this cruelty, and the Muhammadans even are said to have applauded his courage, valour and nobility, and most of them wept bitterly. When the Khalsa heard of it, they were exasperated with the fire of retaliation. *Qazi* Abdul Razaq who had captured the *Bhai*, was put to death, and his whole family living at Aligarh was destroyed. The name of the town was changed to Akalgarh (i.e. the fortress, of the Lord, in modern Gujranwala district of Pakistan). The *Qazi* who had pronounced judgement against the *Bhai* was captured at Muzang, near Lahore and hacked to

pieces. His family was annihilated and his property plundered.

Individual courage and bravery have left many instances on record. One of them relates to the sacred temple at Amritsar. One Massa, a Ranghar, began to defile and pollute the temple by carousing and committing debauchery there. Two Singhs,⁴ who were then at Bikaner in Rajputana, volunteered to murder him. They arrived at Amritsar at noon, when the Ranghar grandee was witnessing a dance in the Harimandar. The Singhs effected their entry and slaying the grandee, the dancing girl and many others, they carried Massa's head to their leader at Bikaner.

This and similar instances created a great turmoil in the country and the Governor of Lahore issued stringent orders for the indiscriminate murder of the Singhs. The Hindu Chaudharis and village *Lambardars* were bound, under heavy penalties, to see that no member of the Khalsa was harboured anywhere. No stone was left unturned to search and find out their children and women, and all who fell into their hands were unmercifully put to the sword. And it is stated that no Singh was left alive in the Majha tract except a few pregnant women who concealed themselves in the distant and dense jungles or hills. The mere idea of the oppression practised then on the innocent, makes us shudder at this remote period.

At the time of which we are now speaking, Nadir Shah, the King of Persia, invaded India in November 1738 A.D. and took possession of Lahore, which he left for Delhi on *Poh* 1795 V.S. (29th December 1738 A.D.). He proceeded towards Delhi, and defeating the Emperor at Karnal in February 1739 A.D., he entered Delhi in March and subjected it to general massacre and plunder for some days. After a halt there for 58 days he returned to Kabul, where he reached on 20th November 1739. His invasion had caused a general commotion and the Punjab was thrown into great confusion. As soon as he crossed the Indus in November he commanded his army to ravage and devastate the country, using freely both fire and sword everywhere. The consternation and desolation thus caused soon spread over the whole of the Panjab, nay the whole of India.

4. Bhai Mehtab Singh Mirankot and Bhai Sukha Singh Mari Kambo.—Ed.

The whole country became terror-stricken and the brutalities committed by him became the talk of all the circles.

The inhabitants of the Panjab were conveying their property to the hills for concealment and protection. Finding this unrest, the Singhs availed themselves of it. They came out of their distant and hidden abodes and began to infest the country, wreaking their vengeance upon those who had in any way directly or indirectly, helped in their own or their relations, persecution or destruction. No Muhammadan village on their way escaped devastation. Muhammadans were plundered and put to the sword. They openly visited the holy tank at Amritsar and held councils there. Their numbers daily increased. In addition to those returning from the hills, numerous others joined their standard for the sake of rapine and plunder. Singh horsemen were seen riding at full gallop towards the sacred shrine at Amritsar, the pilgrimage to which had been forbidden during the past, several years and they used to perform it in secret or in disguise. They enjoyed such impunity that it much troubled Nawab Zakaria Khan *alias* Khan Bahadur, the Governor of Lahore. He was now in great perplexity, and sent a message to Nawab Kapur Singh for help and to make a common enemy of a foreign invader, Nadir Shah, but the reply was not favourable to him.

When on his return from Delhi, Nadir Shah passed through the Panjab, the Singhs in small parties molested his army very much. A great deal of the spoil he was taking from Delhi, was plundered by the Singhs between Kurukshetra and the Indus. The rear of his army, which was laden with booty, was greatly injured and despoiled. He dispatched several detachments after the Singhs with no success. He was very much annoyed and on arrival at Lahore was displeased with the Governor, and angrily asked him what sort of people the Singhs were, and enquired about their country, residence and strongholds in order to destroy them. The Governor's reply was that their home was the jungle, their dwelling house, the back of their horses and then giving prominent points of their religion, their manners and modes of living, he explained what measures had been adopted to annihilate the sect. Nadir Shah wondered at it, and is said to have remarked, that if the details given were

true, the Singhs were invincible and ineradicable and were sure to gain ascendancy in the country.

When Nadir Shah had gone away, the Governor of Lahore asked the Singhs for one-half of what they had plundered from the spoils of Nadir Shah. The reply of the stern Singhs was that he wanted to get a piece of flesh out of the jaws of a lion, which was impossible. Thereupon their persecution commenced again and thousands were mercilessly slain. A proclamation was issued for a general massacre of all the Singhs, wherever they could be found. The persecution and extermination was firmly carried on. It was during this very period, that one Bhai Taru Singh, a *zamindar* of Pula in the Parganah of Amritsar, obtained the crown of martyrdom. He was offered his life on condition of renouncing his faith and embracing Islam. He declined and the hairs of his scalp were scratched out by a cobbler's saddle (*rambi*) and he breathed his last on 23rd Assu V.S. 1803 (October 1746 A.D.)

There are many more similar instances of oppression and we abstain from entering into their details because they would lengthen our work.

Nadir Shah was, on 8th June 1747, assassinated at Fatahabad, in Persia. Ahmad Shah Abdali was crowned king of Kandhar in 1747 A.D. He had changed the name of his tribe from Abdali to Durrani, a name by which it has ever since been known. Having reduced Kabul and Peshawar in 1747 A.D., he rapidly crossed the Indus and laid the Panjab under contribution the same year. The Durrani then advanced to Delhi in March 1748 A.D. and gave battle to the Imperial Army which had advanced to encounter him near Sarhind. He made use of the Indian rockets there which he had carried from the arsenal at Lahore. The Afghans were ignorant of their use and worked them in such a way that they caused the greatest injury among their own people. During the confusion, the Imperial troops dashed to the attack and routed the invaders, disastrously, who hurried back and recrossed the Indus in confusion and dismay.

During this turmoil the Singhs swarmed into the Panjab and harassed the Durrani's rear. They renewed their campaign of vengeance throughout the province against both the Hindus and Muhammadans who had recently acted as informers or abettors in the capture and slaughter of their relations.

On the Baisakhi fair in 1748 A.D. (V.S. 1805) some parties of Sikhs visited the shrine called Rori Sahib at Emnabad in the Gujranwala District. Jaspat Rai Khatri, resident of that place and brother of Diwan Lakhpat Rai, the Prime Minister (Diwan?) of the Governor of Lahore, who had lately been acting very cruelly against the Singhs, when he heard of their arrival at the shrine, he menaced the Singhs and fell upon them with his men. He was killed in the contest, and the town, especially his house, was ransacked by the Singhs. When the news of this reached Lahore, Lakhpat Rai vowed to exterminate the Singhs, declaring that a Khatri was their founder and a Khatri would also become their extinguisher. The Viceroy sent a large force against them under Lakhpat Rai. He in the first instance, traced out and dispatched all the Singhs to a man in the town of Lahore. At the same time he proclaimed that all writings, bearing on the Sikh religion, should be seized and destroyed. The sacred reservoir at Amritsar was filled up with debris. A proclamation for a general massacre of the whole race and sect of Singhs was issued, "Death was," says Sayad Muhammad Latif, "to be the punishment of all persons who invoked the name of Guru Govind and a reward was offered for the heads of the Sikhs. Thousands were put to death daily and their heads brought before the *Subedar* of Lahore for the reward." To the imperial force he added contributions from the *Jagirdars*, *Zamindars* and other leading members of all the classes and professions. Thus the whole army numbered several lakhs, whereas the whole strength of the Singhs formed an infinitesimal part of such a number. There were at the time about 15,000 Singhs in the Chhambh (shallow waters) of Kahnuwan which contained a vast and dense jungle. Lakhpat Rai invested and blockaded them, cutting off all their communication with the country around. The blockade continued for three months and the Singhs had no provisions but for the wild vegetation and wild animals. They inflicted a heavy loss on the besiegers by their daring night attacks, but when their ammunition and other war materials were exhausted, they after a council of war, rushed upon the enemy with swords drawn and cut through the enemy towards the hills. On arrival at Pathankot, they found that the hill-passes were all blocked by the Hill Rajas under

the orders of the Governor of Lahore, so that the Singhs might not be able to enter the hills. They found themselves in great difficulty. They had had no food for many days, thirst was overpowering them, and the heat of June days was scorching. Their front and a flank were occupied by the Hill Rajas. The other flank was occupied by the river Bias, which was in floods, and their rear was pressed heavily by the enemy. Some Singhs thrust their horses into the river, but failed to cross it. Thereupon Nawab Kapur Singh and Sardar Jassa Singh encouraged them to resort to hand to hand fight. The whole army of the Singhs rushed with such vehemence and velocity that the enemy fell into confusion and thousands were butchered. Harbhaj Rai, nephew of Lakhpat Rai, Nahar Khan, Karm Bakhsh and many other *faujdars* and men of note and repute fell to their sword. The Singhs encamped at a place about 10 miles from the scene of bloodshed which was termed *Chbhota Gballu Ghara*.⁵

The enemy had severely suffered from fatigue. The loss sustained in killed and wounded was telling very hard upon them. At the same time they knew full well how the Singhs had suffered and considered them to have fled away, never to be seen again. However at about midnight they were surprised and before they could prepare for encounter, the sword of the Singhs had despatched and sucked the blood of many thousands of the enemy. Then with a large quantity of stores of war and horses, the victors eluded all pursuits and directed their course towards Malwa.

It will be interesting for our readers to note that subsequently, this very Lakhpat Rai became Governor of Lahore, but was ultimately imprisoned and handed over to the Singhs to be chastised as they thought fit.

After the end of Lakhpat Rai's campaign, the Singhs recovered from the effects of the war, and their wounds healed in about four months. They again became troublesome in the Panjab and increased much in their numbers. They built a fort in the vicinity of Amritsar, called Ramgarh. It was fully stored with provision and war materials. The confederacies of the

5. This ghastly massacre of the Sikhs is remembered in Sikh History as *Chbhota Gallu Ghara* (smaller holocaust). The bigger holocaust came in 1762 near Kup Rahira (Sangrur district).—Ed.

Singhs at the time were seen roving and ravaging the country in all directions and devastating even the suburbs of Lahore. Mir Mannu, who was the then Governor of Lahore, stationed detachments of troops in different parts of the country for chastising the Singhs. The Hill Rajas got strict orders to seize and send the Singhs in irons to Lahore. "These orders were obeyed," says Muhammad Latif, "and hundreds of Sikhs were brought daily to Lahore and butchered at Nakhas (horse market)⁶ outside the Delhi Gate in sight of multitudes of spectators. The young Mannu became an irreconcilable foe of the Sikhs, and was determined to extirpate the nation." He sent a strong force to storm Ramgarh. The siege was continued for about two months, and before the fort could be reduced, Ahmad Shah visited the Panjab again and his invasion became a matter of all absorbing interest. Therefore Mir Mannu concluded peace with the Singhs.

The Durrani King of Kabul now returned at the head of a considerable army and began to ravage and devastate the country. The governor of Lahore repeatedly asked the distracted Court at Delhi for reinforcements, with no success. He found himself unable to encounter the invader and prudently arranged for terms of peace, upon which the Durrani Shah went back to Kandhar.

The Emperor praised Mir Mannu for his success in averting the storm, but it raised a great many enemies against him in the court at Delhi. The courtiers contrived to throw him into disfavour and appointed one Shah Nawaz Khan as Governor of Multan. Mir Mannu keenly felt this disgrace and dispatched his Diwan Prime Minister Kaura Mal to oust him from Multan. Kaura Mal courted the help of the Singhs and attacked Multan and after a siege of months succeeded in occupying it. In recognition of this service the Viceroy of Lahore, Mir Mannu, conferred on Kaura Mal the title of Raja and made him Governor of Multan. Kaura Mal gratefully acknowledged the services of the Singhs and paid them Rs. 11,000 for cleaning the sacred tank at Amritsar which had been filled up under the orders of Lakhpat Rai. The tank was cleared and filled with well-water.

6. Now a shrine called Shahid Ganj (Singhanian) stands at this place.—Ed.

At the same time Mir Mannu, on recommendation of Kaura Mal, released the two Parganahs of Chuhni and Jhabal in favour of the Singhs.

When Mir Mannu found his power increased, he recognized the authority of the Delhi Emperor and withdrew from the allegiance of the Abdali. Therefore the king of the Kabul marched upon the Panjab and Mir Mannu after boldly defending himself for a long time, submitted in April 1753, and was reinstated as his Viceroy of the Panjab.

The war, which had been going on with strangers in the heart of the province for about two years, had necessarily weakened the administration and the Singhs extended their depredations in all directions and ravaged the country a great deal. For sometime they confined their incursions within certain bounds at the request of Kaura Mal, but since he died they had resumed their old raiding propensities. Mir Mannu was annoyed, and he was excited by the enemies of the Singhs, to persecute them. The army he sent against them was completely routed. Thereupon he marched upon them in person. Thousands were mercilessly put to the sword without regard to age or sex. That campaign of annihilation came to an end with the death of Mir Mannu through a fall from his horse in 1755 A.D. and his army was routed by the Singhs.

On his death, his widow Murad Begum, proclaimed her son of about 3 years as Viceroy under her own guardianship. The Emperor of Delhi and the king of Kabul ratified her action. Shortly after, the child died of smallpox, and she proclaimed herself as Viceroy of the Panjab. The Courts of Delhi and Kabul confirmed her as such. Later on she was treacherously seized and carried to Delhi as a state prisoner, and no sooner did Abdali hear of it than he came to the Panjab in V.S. 1813 (1756 A.D.). On his arrival, Adina Beg, who was placed by the Delhi Court, in charge of the province, fled and sought protection under the Hill Rajas. Abdali halted at Lahore for about a month in order to chastise the Singhs, but without doing anything in that respect, he hastened towards Delhi, which city he entered without opposition. He halted there for about two months and then taking as much as he could extract from that town, he plundered Balabgarh, Mathura and Agra. After committing a

great many atrocities, he returned to Kandhar in 1757 A.D. The Panjab and Sindh were annexed to Kabul and Prince Taimur Shah, the son of Abdali, was appointed Vicegerent.

While on his way back to Lahore from Delhi, the Singhs plundered the baggage of the king of Kabul and molested him much. He was much exasperated and threatened to punish them, but as his presence in Turkistan was urgently needed, he ordered the Prince to chastise them.

Adina Beg Khan, who had, on arrival of the Abdali at Lahore, fled towards the hills, now appeared on the scene, and establishing himself in the Jalandhar Doab, began to enlist Singhs in his service. Taimur Shah had, to some extent, succeeded in dispersing the armed bands of the Singhs, but now they began to gather in multitudes. Taimur Shah, finding that Adina Beg was drifting from his allegiance, sent a strong force to oust him from Jalandhar Doab. He collected his Singh troops and encountered the Lahore army. The latter were signally defeated and returned to Lahore.

Shortly after, a large army was again sent to subdue Adina Beg, but hearing of it, he fled to the hills. Then the young prince directed his attention towards the Singhs. Their fort, Ramgarh, at Amritsar, was stormed and razed to the ground. Their holy reservoir was filled up, and places of worship were defiled. When the Khalsa wandering in the country heard of these outrages, they hastened to their central place and furiously ravaged the whole country round Lahore. The Pathans came out against them, and succeeded in dispersing them in the first instance, but afterwards they were worsted in a great many engagements. "In a desperate engagement," says Muhammad Latif, "which took place between the Pathans and the Sikhs, the latter fired a volley, every bullet of which took effect. A great number of the Pathans fell, and the rest fled. The Sikhs kept up the fire with great vigour." The Pathans had an incredibly high mortality and were completely routed. This was the first decisive victory on record achieved by the Singhs over the Pathans.

There were many more battles and skirmishes between the authorities and Singhs, but for want of space we note here only one. Considering Kartarpur as a sacred place of the Singhs,

Nasir Ali Khan, *faujdar* attacked it with a large army. Sodhi Badbhag Singh, the chief of that place, being unable to resist, fled towards the hills. The Muhammadans then committed atrocious excesses upon the Hindus who were compelled to embrace Islam. The holy places of the Singhs were defiled with the blood of kine. When the Singhs heard of it, they inflicted a signal defeat upon Nasir Ali Khan and retaliated upon the Muhammadans with great vigour. Mosques were levelled to the ground or contaminated with the blood of swine and Pathan, Mughal and Sayad women were initiated with the *Khanda Pabul* and taken in marriage by the Singhs.

In *Chet* V.S. 1813 (March 1757 A.D.) Adina Beg recovered possession of the Jalandhar Doab with the help of the Singhs. In remuneration of their services he paid them Rs. 20,000 with Rs. 5,000 for *Karah Parshad* (sweetmeat). Besides, he gave them ample ammunition. It was at the same time that Sodhi Badbhag Singh, was restored to his estate at Kartarpur with a *Jagir* granted by Adina Beg.

The Singhs had at that time practically taken possession of Lahore after a hard fight, and Adina Beg apparently suspected their faith and invited the Marhattas to take possession of the Panjab on certain conditions. They besieged Sarhind which was occupied by the Durrani General, Abdul Samad Khan. The Marhattas were joined by the Singhs in the service of Adina Beg and others whom the desire of plunder attracted thither. They showed great gallantry and it was they who in the first instance, at a great personal sacrifice, jumped over the walls of the fort, and putting the garrison to the sword, opened the gate for the entry of the Marhattas. The town was subjected by the Singhs to general pillage. The Marhattas became jealous of the Singhs and claimed the whole spoil as their own. Before any quarrel took place, the Singhs made off with their prize and the Marhattas, having witnessed their gallantry, did not like to challenge their action.

After the fall of Sarhind, the Marhattas easily became masters of the whole Panjab and the Durrani retired across the Indus, leaving their property and treasures in the hands of the invaders. Adina Beg was installed in the office of the Viceroy of the Panjab, but he died at the end of 1758 A.D. During his

time he went on amusing the Singhs and they were kept in check. On his death they renewed their depredations and began to overrun the country and subjected the Muhammadans to the greatest hardships and severities.

Early in 1759 A.D., they gained a complete and decisive victory over Bishambar Mal, a minister of Adina Beg, at Urmar Tanda as he had threatened them with extermination and had also taken and sent some Singhs as prisoners to Lahore. The minister was killed and the Singhs, for the first time, took possession and became independent masters of tracts called Majha and Doaba. The Khalsa had, by this time, been organized into different *mils* or confederacies and the dominions now conquered were divided among the various Chiefs as follows :

The *Ramgarhias* took the Parganahs bordering on the Bias, namely Hargobindur, Batala and Mukerian.

The *Ghanias* were allotted the Parganahs of Ajnala, Sohian, Nag, Gurdaspur, Dehra Baba Nanak, Kalanaur, Pathankot and Sujanpur.

The *Bhangis* were given the Parganahs of Amritsar, Tarn Taran, Gujrat, Wazirabad, Sialkot and Chiniot.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia got the Parganahs of Nur Mahl, Talwandi, Phagwara, Kane Dhillon, and Hariana.

The *Nakai Sardars* got the Parganahs of Chunian, Bahrwal, Khem Karn, Khudian etc.

The *Singhpurias* had to their share the Parganahs of Jalandhar. Haibatpur, Patti etc.

The *Dallewalias* were given possession of the Parganahs of Nakodar, Talban, Budala, Rahon, Phillaur etc.

The *Karoris* became masters of the Parganahs of Nawan Shahr, Rurka, Bassian, Pindorian, Hushiarpur, Bhunga, Kathgarh.

The *Sukkarchakias* mastered the Parganahs of Gujranwala, Kunjah etc.

When the news of the success of the Singhs and of the Marhattas as well as of the expulsion of the Prince and his general from the Panjab reached him, Ahmad Shah Abdali, at the head of a large army, marched towards the Panjab and crossed Indus in the winter of 1759 A.D. The Marhattas evacuated the Panjab with serious loss and fell back upon Delhi.

Abdali entered Lahore in September 1759 A.D. On his arrival, the Singhs retired to the hills or other places of security without encountering him. Abdali proceeded towards Delhi. The Marhattas collected a large army at Panipat and on 7th January 1761, sustained a severe discomfiture in which the destruction of their power was so complete that they never recovered from its effects.

After this decisive victory over Marhattas, Ahmad Shah Abdali returned to the Panjab. On his march he was greatly troubled by the Singhs attacking his baggage. He had brought about 22,000 captives, Hindu males and females. When they were crossing the Bias river, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, with some other Sardars fell upon them, routed their guards and releasing the captives sent them to their homes. He was therefore termed *Bandi Chhore* or 'The Liberator'.

During the absence of Ahmad Shah at Panipat, the Panjab again swarmed with the Singhs and they took possession of their respective dependencies.

The Governor of Lahore had been called by the Abdali to Panipat and there was no one to oppose the Singhs in the Panjab. They gathered round the outskirts of Lahore and surrounded the town on all sides. The Lieutenant-Governor (*Naib-Subedar*) Amir Muhammad Khan, shut himself up in the city and the Singhs withdrew on his paying them Rs. 30,000 for *karah parshad* (an auspicious mixture of *ghi*, refined sugar and flour in equal quantities).

On his return from Panipat, Ahmad Shah could not take any step to chastise the Singhs or manage the affairs of the Panjab, but returned to Kabul on the spring of 1761 A.D. and was greatly harassed by the Singhs on his way up to Jhelum.

The Singhs extended their depredations into the heart of Rajputana with varying success and the provinces of Sarhind and Panjab from Attak to the banks of the Jamna, were subjected to severe pillage and plunder. They re-occupied their own former possessions and killed Hassan Ali Khan, *Faujdar*, of Kalanaur, in a desperate fight. He used to coerce Hindus to conversion and in retaliation of that oppression, they converted to Khalsaism, many women of the Sayad sect of Muhammadans and gave them in marriage to Singhs.

In order to chastise the Singhs for their audacity, Ahmad Shah Abdali, despatched in the beginning of 1762 A.D., his general Nur-ud-Din Khan, with 7,000 horsemen. The Governor of Lahore was directed to render him all possible assistance. Before the *Kabuli* general could join with the Lahore army, he was encountered by Sardar Charat Singh and other Sardars on the left bank of the Chenab. He was thoroughly beaten and compelled to seek refuge in the fort of Sialkot. He was hotly pursued and as a result he fled to Jammu.

Shortly after this, the Durrani Governor of Lahore⁷ marched with all his forces to reduce the fortress at Gujranwala which was built by Sardar Charat Singhs in 1760 A.D. The Singhs assembled from all quarters and made a common cause of it. The fortress was besieged for about a fortnight and all communications were cut. The Afghan camp was surprised one night and the Governor fled to Lahore, leaving four guns and an immense quantity of war materials for the Singhs.

After the discomfiture of his General Nur-ud-Din, the Abdali sent his General Jahan Khan at the head of a strong body of troops. The Singhs went to Malwa, or retired to fortresses or retreated in the jungles. The General encamping at Amritsar began to fill up the holy tank and profane the sacred temple. These sacrileges excited the Singhs and incited them to attack the enemy. Shahid Deep Singh, and Shahid Natha Singh with some others marched against him. He gave them battle at Gohalwar about 7 miles from Amritsar. The Singhs bound themselves with a vow to die or conquer, but never to retire. The enemy was vanquished and pursued with great slaughter to the town of Amritsar, which they were compelled to evacuate after great bloodshed.

A fortnight after that, Jahan Khan, at the head of a large and fresh army from Lahore, again marched upon Amritsar, but was in a sanguinary battle, repulsed with a heavy loss and pursued upto the walls of Lahore. The Singhs cleaned the sacred tank again, repaired and fortified Ramgarh. War materials were collected and stored in the fort. The Singhs were now gaining a firm footing and an established power. They left off much

of their depredatory and raiding habits and began to watch keenly the interests and safety of the Hindus. Whenever Hindus were oppressed or tyrannized by any Muhammadan, they lodged their complaints before the Singhs at Amritsar. Redress was speedily granted and the oppressor severely chastised with forfeiture of life and property. The Pathans of Qasur suffered punishment for their excesses upon the Hindus. There are many instances to prove that the Singhs at this period had assumed an arbitrary importance and were regarded by Muhammadan leaders and petty chiefs with awe and horror. The Muhammadans let their Hindu neighbours alone to live a peaceful life, ceasing the heart-rending atrocities upon them.

In October 1761 A.D., Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, attacked and occupied Lahore, driving the Durrani General out of it. The Governor shut himself up in the fort. At about the same time Sarhind was attacked and a good deal of its territory was taken by the Singhs.

About that period Jandiala, located about 10 miles from Amritsar was attacked. The Mahant of the shrine of Hindal was a sworn enemy of the Singhs. Although the founder of the institution, Hindal, was a servant and follower of the Sikh Gurus, Bidhi Chand, his successor became hostile to Singhs and spoiled the biography of Guru Nanak in order to cover his own shameful career and weakness. Akil Das, the head of the Shrine, acted horribly against the Singhs at the time. He had been instrumental in the destruction of hundreds of innocent Singh, and now, professing his submission to the Durrani king, was very active in plotting against the interests of the Singhs. For these services to the Lahore Government, he was granted a considerable dominion with an annual revenue of about two lakhs. The Singhs besieged his fortress which he defended boldly. The siege continued for two months and the Mahant had written to several neighbouring Governors for help. At the same time, he sent a long complaint to Ahmad Shah Abdali at Kabul.

When this and other reports relating to the disastrous conditions of the Panjab reached him, the Abdali at the head of a large army came by forced marches and crossed the Indus in November 1762 A.D. When he reached Lahore, the fort at

Jandiala was still under siege, but as soon as the Singhs heard of his arrival, they broke up their camp and fled towards Sarhind in order to assist others who were engaged in the war with the Governor of that province. Sarhind must have been taken by the Singhs but for the opportune arrival of the Abdali.

On his arrival at Lahore, Abdali issued orders to the Mussalman *Jagirdars* and Chiefs of Baroch, Malerkotla and other Military Stations to join the Governor of Sarhind, with their respective contingents. At the same time he dispatched a small detachment in order to beguile the Singhs, as they were sure to disperse on the sight of a large army. Therefore they were engaged in manoeuvres and slight skirmishes and convinced that the Abdali had abandoned the idea of prosecuting the war in person. Shah completed all his plans for surprising the Singhs, and sallying forth with the utmost precaution, secrecy and rapidity, fell upon them when they were encamped in the vicinity of Raipur and Gujarwal. The Singhs then mustered 30,000 strong, whereas the combined forces of the Durrani King including the contingents of Native Chiefs, numbered about 2,00,000. When the Singhs were apprised of it, it was too late to disperse and they hastened to the conflict. Of course they knew the absurdity of combating with such odds, but now they had to manage their retreat towards Malwa. Therefore, they collected all their baggage and dispatched it in that direction under a suitable escort. They themselves covered the rear in a sort of semi circle. The enemy had invested them all around, and the praiseworthy manner in which they defended themselves, covering their retreat, can better be imagined than described. Their advances and retirements before a regular and well disciplined army extorted praise from the enemy. Sardars Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Charat Singh at the head of 400 Singhs, thrice appeared before the Shah and challenged him to fight. In the afternoon they arrived at Hathur with their baggage, all along repulsing the enemy with great determination. At Hathur they occupied a tank full of water and the enemy failed to dislodge them from that position. The Afghan army began to suffer for want of water and the heat of an April day with dusty storms disquieted them. Abdali thought it prudent to retire, because in addition to the above disadvantages, he

was well aware of the danger attending the pursuit of the Singhs. He separated the heads of the dead from their trunks and brought them to Lahore where, he raised them into a big tower in front of the Delhi Gate. It is estimated that Abdali lost in dead about 17,000 and the Singhs 13,000.⁸ This battle is characterised by the Singhs as *Vada Gballu Ghara* or 'The Grand sanguinary Visitation'.

After this battle Ahmad Shah Abdali, visited Amritsar and committed monstrous ravages and atrocities upon the Singhs. "The sacred tank was," according to Muhammad Latif, "polluted with the blood and the entrails of cows and bullocks. Numerous pyramids were made of the heads of those who had suffered decapitation." The holy temple of Harmandar was blown up with gunpowder. It is stated that the gunpowder used was much in excess than the quantity required, and when it exploded, the bricks of the building were blown for miles away. It is also stated that by the fall of these bricks many persons were wounded and the Shah's nose was hurt when one landed on his face. That wound subsequently turned into a cancer and gave him an excruciating pain until he died of it in June 1773 A.D. in the fiftieth year of his age.

Many other sacred edifices were defiled and polluted under the orders of the Shah, and he created grounds upon which the Singhs, in their turn, were to enforce the law of retaliation upon Muslims and to justify their cruel enormities.

When Ahmad Shah, after making necessary arrangements returned to Kabul, the Muhammandans again began to oppress the Hindus. The Singhs could not tolerate it. They concentrated their forces at Amritsar and surprised and plundered Qasur, a Pathan Settlement. Malerkotla was captured and sacked. Several other Muhammadan Chiefs, who had been instrumental in persecuting the Singhs or Hindus were severely chastised. Sarhind was again invested and Zain Khan, the Afghan Governor of that Province, completely defeated and killed on 13th *Jeth* V.S. 1820 (June 1763 A.D.). Then the whole country between the Satluj and the Jamna was occupied and partitioned

8. This number is variously stated by different authors between 12,000 and 20,000. The latter figure is not, as Sir Lepel Griffin remarks, without exaggeration.—Ed.

by Singhs without opposition. The town of Sarhind⁹ was plundered, and its buildings blown out. It was utterly desolated and the orders of the great Guru Gobind Singh, were carried out to the latter. The inhabitants migrated to other towns like Amritsar, Ludhiana, Lahore, Patiala etc. The remains of the town with its fort were sold for Rs. 25,000 to Raja Ala Singh, the Chief of Patiala. The Majha, Doaba and *Darp* were also, at the same time, occupied by the Singhs. Their power became supreme in the Panjab, and the Governor of Lahore was left with no authority beyond the walls of the city.

It was then heard that the beef butchers of Lahore had slaughtered a great many cows. The Singhs, out of regard for this sacred animal, demanded from the Governor of Lahore, the surrender of all the beef butchers of the town. The Governor was nonplussed. He did not think it advisable to resist the demand of the Singh power, and, at the same time, he was afraid of the displeasure of the Abdali, his master. He therefore compromised the matter by chopping off the ears and noses of some of the butchers and expelling them out of the town.

When the Intelligence of the Khalsa ascendancy reached Ahmad Shah Abdali, he marched at the head of a large army and entered Lahore in January 1764. On account of the punishment meted out to the beef-butchers he reduced the Governor of Lahore to Naib-Subedar (Lieutenant Governor). Abdali was much moved and distressed to see through desolation and disorder all around him, but could do nothing. The Singhs had moved far beyond his reach, and were busy in ravaging distant regions and bringing the Muhammandans to their sense of divine justice. He despatched his troops in every direction, but in vain. However, they committed every barbarous enormity that their religious and savage instincts could suggest, on the relations of the Singh Chiefs, and took possession of their principalities owing to their absence across the Jamna river, whither they had gone to Mirpur, Deban, Muzaffarnagar, Nagina. Najibabad, Anupshahr etc. From these places they acquired a large amount of booty and returned after an absence from their dominions of about four months. When

9. This is the town cursed by Guru Gobind Singh for the death of his two innocent sons and mother.

the Singh forces returned, the Abdali had gone back to Kabul, leaving his General, Jahan Khan, at the head of 10,000 Kazalbashes for the chastisement of the Singhs.

The Singhs assigned one-tenth of their spoils, which amounted to about Rs. 300,000 (three lakhs) for the rebuilding of the sacred temple and tank at Amritsar, and appointed one Des Raj as trustee of that donation. Thereafter they took immediate and effective steps to recover their possessions. The Afghan General was vigorously attacked and besieged in the fort of Sialkot. After 15 days he was obliged to evacuate it and fly towards Rohtas. The Singhs pursued him and took possession of the country westwards upto Sarai Kala.

Kabli Mal, with the help of the Singhs, imprisoned Dawar Khan, who had been appointed by the Abdali King as Governor of Lahore, and proclaimed his own authority.

When all these matters were brought to the notice of Abdali, he again in 1765 A.D. came to the Panjab, but hearing of his arrival the Singh Chiefs retired to their distant and secure haunts. Ahmad Shah imprisoned Kabli Mal, and reinstated Dawar Khan in his office of Governor of Lahore, but on the representation of the Public, he confirmed Kabli Mal as his Governor. As long as the Shah was moving about the country, the Singhs kept themselves out of his reach, but as soon as he turned his back, they burst forth with accumulated impetuosity. They at once regained their territories and taking Lahore divided it among themselves. Kabli Mal, the Governor of Lahore, fled towards Jammu and sought protection of Ranjit Deo, the Raja of that place. His property was plundered. His family was imprisoned, but subsequently released on payment of a ransom of Rs. 25,000.

For about two years the Singhs felt secure and asserted their supremacy in the Panjab. They introduced a regular form of government and considered themselves secure and invincible. At that time Raja Jawahar Mal of Bharatpur was attacking Najib Khan, the Prime Minister at Delhi, and asked the help of the Singh Chieftains, on payment of three lakhs of rupees. The call was responded to with alacrity and about 30,000 Singhs went to his help. The parties after some fighting concluded peace and the Singhs taking their stipulated sum, toured through

different territories. While they were absent from the Panjab, Ahmad Shah Abdali on hearing the accounts of the Panjab, marched out in the beginning of 1767 A.D. with a large army. Few Singhs, who were in the Panjab, retired as usual to the hills or jungles. The Shah proceeded towards Delhi, but Cholera broke out in his camp and his further advance being deemed unnecessary, he retired from the neighbourhood of Ambala. He then visited Sarhind and was grieved to see the desolate condition into which it had been reduced by the Singhs. He desired to lease that province to the Pathans of Malerkotla and the Chief of Rai Kot, but they were too much afraid of the Singhs to accept the grant. Therefore the province was leased to the Raja of Patiala. The Raja was granted the title of 'Raja-i-Rajgan Mahindar Bahadur'. At the same time he was permitted to strike coinage in his own name. On the recommendation of the Raja, the Shah was pleased to release all the male and female prisoners of war, about 20,000 in number, which he was taking to Kabul. The Raja gave them out of his own treasury, necessary expenses for the journey to their respective homes.

Through the Raja of Patiala, the Shah offered handsome *Jagirs* to the Singh Chiefs, on condition of their leading a peaceful life. They declined to accept them with the remark that the offer was out of the question, since they were not prepared to accept of him even the Kingdom, which they must acquire by dint of their arms, as directed by their great Guru. The Raja was laid under religious penalty for his submission to the Abdali.

As soon as the Shah left Sarhind, the Singhs came round and began to harass him. His baggage train was cut off and camp followers plundered. Several skirmishes took place and thousands of Afghans fell to the sword. At this time the native Muhammadan Chiefs abstained, as far as possible, from rendering him any help, because they knew full well that the Singh power was now supreme, and as soon as the Panjab was evacuated by the Shah, they were sure to fall upon any one rendering him help. Therefore none but the Mahant of Jandiala sent troops to his help, and it was mostly due to the fresh reinforcements of 18,000 troops under his uncle Sarbuland Khan and of 12,000 Pathans under Prince Taimur Shah, from Kashmir,

that the Shah was successful in effecting his retreat. He crossed the river Ravi in great perplexity and about 8,000 Durrani were drowned in the river. Here the Shah had planned a sanguinary attack upon the Singhs and they fled towards Kalanaur, leaving a good deal of their baggage in the hands of the Afghans. The Shah now considered that they would not dare to pursue him again. But he was mistaken. He crossed the Chenab in peace, but when he was crossing the Jhelum, the Singhs surprised him and inflicted a serious loss upon his army. It was with enormous difficulty that he could cross the river. In spite of all precautions, his artillery and a considerable quantity of baggage were drowned in the river and a large number of Hindu prisoners that he was carrying to Kabul as slaves, were released by the Singhs. Abdali who extricated himself with great difficulty, was glad to hurry towards Kabul, leaving his General Sarbuland Khan, with 10,000 men in the fort of Rohtas.

On 17th *Magh* V.S. 1823 (February 1767 A.D.) the Bhangi Sardars regained Lahore and its fort. The fort of Rohtas was reduced and the Durrani General escaped to Kabul, and the Singh Chiefs became undisputed and complete masters of the country lying between the Indus and Jamna river.

In V.S. 1826 (1769 A.D.) Abdali sent Prince Taimur Shah, at the head of a large army, to chastise the Singhs. On his arrival the Singhs either fought with small detachments and were defeated, or ran without any battle. The reason was that they were then in their respective territories busy with managing the newly acquired possessions, and had no time to assemble together to encounter the Kabul army. When they found opportunity to hold a council of war, the Afghan troops were repulsed with heavy loss and compelled to fall back upon their centre at Lahore. When the Prince, on his way back to Kabul, crossed the Chenab, the Singhs attacked him from all around. Many battles were fought and the Prince was tired and perplexed. He deemed it prudent to hurry away across the Jhelum, leaving behind two guns, considerable heavy baggage and numerous animals which fell into the hands of the Singhs. The Singhs again occupied their respective territories, including Multan.

In V.S. 1827 (1770 A.D.) Prince Taimur waged war in Sindh

and came to Multan. He found that it was beyond his power to restore order in the Panjab or to check the progress of the Singhs (Khalsa) by force of arms. He therefore returned to Kabul.

In *Chet* V.S. 1831 (March 1774 A.D.), Zaman Shah, the King of Kabul and the grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali, invaded the Panjab, but he stopped at Peshawar and sent his general Mir Ahmad with an army of 100,000 strong to Lahore. About 50,000 Singhs encountered him in the neighbourhood of Gujrat. A desperate fight ensued. The Singhs were seen with drawn swords galloping in the lines of the enemy, and heaps of the dead were visible between Gujrat and the Jhelum—a distance of over thirty miles. About 30,000 Singhs fell in the field and the Afghans were completely routed with an immense slaughter in *Har* V.S. 1832 (July 1775 A.D.) The Sikhs pursued their enemy to Attak.

Next year Zaman Shah again came to Panjab at the head of a very large army. He defeated the Singhs in a pitched battle near Shekhupura, but afterwards he sustained a heavy loss both in men and baggage and was glad to extricate himself from the clutches of the Khalsa. He invaded the Panjab several times again but he never gained a footing, and the Khalsa became complete and undisputed master of the whole of the Panjab.

I think we have sufficiently dealt with the succession as well as the cruel and unscrupulous enforcement of a horrible chain of persecutions and repeated attempts of a bigoted and tyrannical sovereign power. It was a miraculous development for the Khalsa and their ultimate ascendancy to the supreme power over the very same country in which they were detested and suffered so much during half a century. It was within sixty-six years from the death of their illustrious Guru Gobind Singh, that through the perseverance and constant struggle of a handful of men, a powerful empire was shaken to its foundations and their own supremacy was established. Our readers will now be able to form a clear idea as to what the Singhs had had to suffer and with what fortitude they had borne it. At the same time they would be convinced of the existence of retributive justice, when they portray before themselves the hardships which the Muhammadans had to suffer in turn from

time to time at the hands of the Khalsa. In the following chapter we propose to lay before our readers a sketch of the Khalsa confederacies which were formed during the period, the history of which we have just closed.

It will be interesting to note the different denominations under which various parts of the Panjab are known. They are referred to in this book, and therefore it is necessary that the reader should be acquainted with their situation. The tract of the country named Malwa is situated to the North of the river Satluj¹⁰ and stretches towards Delhi and Bikaner. It is distinct from the Malwa of Dakhan (Central India) a rich country north of the Narbada of which Indore is the centre.

The country between the Satluj and the Bias is called Doaba, generally termed Jalandhar Doab. (Also known as Bist Jalandhar).

The Majha is the name of the portion between the Bias and the Ravi called the Bari Doab.

The Darp signifies the country between the Ravi and the Chenab rivers.¹¹

The Dhanigheb is the tract beyond the Jhelum and is practically confined to the North-West portion of the present Jhelum district with the adjoining territory of the newly formed Attak District.

The Pothohar as popularly known, stretches from the confines of the Jhelum District northwards with its centre at Rawalpindi.

10. This is mostly referred to by historians as Cis-Sutlej terribly.—Ed.

11. It is called Rachena Doab deriving its name from river Ravi and Chenab.—Ed.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MISLS OR SINGH CONFEDERACIES

In the preceding Chapter, it has been shown that in V.S. 1791 (1734 A.D.), the Singhs or the Khalsa army was divided into two divisions—the Young Army and the Veteran's Army. Afterwards they developed into *Misls* (meaning alike or equal, serried files, or placed in order like a file of records), more popularly known as Confederacies. When Ahmad Shah Abdali, left the Panjab in 1764 A.D., his Governor of Lahore, Kabli Mal, was overthrown with no difficulty, and the whole country which had by that time been acquired by the Singhs, was partitioned among themselves. The Chiefs assembled at Amritsar and proclaimed their own supremacy and the prevalence of their faith. They struck a coin bearing the following inscription :

ਦੇਗੋ ਤੇਗੋ ਫਤਹ ਨੁਸਰਤ ਬੇਦਰੰਗ ।
ਯਾਫਤਾਜ਼ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ ।

Dego Tego Fateh nusrat bedrang,
Yaft-az Nānak Guru Gobind Singh.

Guru Gobind Singh had received from Nanak
Deg, Teg and Fateh unfailing victory.¹

When they became masters of practically the whole country, their possession was not disturbed for about two years by any invasion from the West. During that interval the chiefs employed themselves in demarcating their respective possessions and their mutual relations to each other. There is no doubt that according to their religious system every Singh was free and equal to the other in all respects, forming a substantive member of the society, but, as can naturally be imagined, they were

1. For literal meanings of *Deg* and *Teg* see beginning of Chapter XXIII. The whole of the first verse means the earth, its sovereignty and sure and certain victory.

unequal in their means as well as their inherent abilities. Therefore, it was quite apparent that all of them could not be leaders. Besides, the organization of associations for military operations would have been quite impossible if all had been masters, and none had been followers, if all had been directors and none to be directed.

Separate independent groups were thus formed, called *Misl* or Confederacy, under a Chief or Sardar. Each Chief was bound to aid the other against a common enemy for the protection of their religion and country. In all cases where united action was necessary, some person was appointed by common consent as their head and they agreed to be guided by his directions. All state affairs were carried out by *Gurmattas*² (resolutions of a Cabinet-council) and the resolutions passed were strictly adhered to. Every member of a Confederacy was at liberty to abandon the profession of arms or to transfer his services from one Chief to another, or to establish his own party or league. Thus the whole system resolved itself into a theocratic feudalism of 'The Khalsa Commonwealth'. All booty was equally divided among the Chiefs and they, deducting their own share, distributed it among their own leaders of bands. These leaders again subdivided their shares among their subordinates according to a certain recognized custom.

These *Misls*, in popular estimation, at the time when practically the whole of the Panjab was wrested away by the Singhs and severed from the allegiance of the King of Kabul, were twelve in number. A brief account of their birth, existence and final dissolution or preservation is given below.

1. THE BHANGI MISL

The founder of this *Misl* was Sardar Hari Singh, son of Bhoma Singh, a Dhillon Jat of Hung, in the *Parganah* of Badhni in *Malwa*. He joined the Khalsa army and was initiated with *Pahul* in V.S. 1782 (1725 A.D.) and as he was addicted to the use of *bhang* (hemp) and also served it to others on a large scale,

2. The Guru has laid down that where five orthodox Singhs assemble, the Guru must be considered as present among themselves and it is enjoined that all affairs, whether pertaining to the state or religion, must be considered in such an assembly. The resolution passed by such an assembly is called *Gurmatta*.

he was called *Bhangi* (an addict of *bhang*) while his followers were called *Bhangis*. He was a valiant combatant with a daring spirit and rose to great power. He organised, and became chief of a *Misl* which was named after his nickname. Both in numerical strength and acquisition of territorial possessions, this *Misl* was the strongest. Its fighting strength was about 15,000 men who were distributed over various parts of the country. He had several Sardars of note under him. He fixed his headquarters at Amritsar and in V.S. 1803 (1746 A.D.) founded a very beautiful *Katra* (street) in the city of Amritsar, which is known after his name. He began to acquire territorial possessions in V.S. 1812 (1755 A.D.) and they were extended from the neighbourhood of Amritsar to Attak, Jhang, Multan, Dera Ismail Khan and Saharanpur. His dominion was assessed at an estimated annual income of Rs. 1,50,00,000. He was killed in action while fighting for the Raja of Patiala, V.S. 1827 (1770 A.D.).

He left behind five sons of whom Sardar Jhanda Singh, the eldest succeeded him as Chief of the *Misl* and it became very prosperous under him. In V.S. 1831 (1774 A.D.) he attacked Jammu and made Ranjit Deo, the (Dogra ?) Raja of that place, his tributary on payment of an annual *Nazrana* (tribute) of Rs. 1,00,000. He captured alongwith others, the famous large gun called Zamzama from the Nawab of Sarai. It is now kept in front of the Museum at Lahore and serves as an object of great historical interest to the curious visitors. Sardar Jhanda Singh was shot dead in 1831 V.S. (1774 A.D.) by a Mazhabi Sikh who was bribed to do so by Jai Singh, the Kanhya Chief. Sardar Ganda Singh, his brother, succeeded him, but was shot in a battle at Pathankot in V.S. 1839 (1782 A.D.) and his brother Charat Singh was appointed as leader of the *Misl*. Next year he also fell in an action and his youngest brother, Desu Singh, was elected as Chief. He also was killed in a battle in V.S. 1846 (1789 A.D.) and his son Karam Singh became Chief, but he, in his turn, fell a martyr in V.S. 1849 (1792 A.D.). His younger brother, Gulab Singh, got the cheifship but he was addicted to alcohol and his dominion began to dwindle away and eventually merged into the sovereign power of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1860 V.S. (1803 A.D.).

The Family of the founder of this *Misl*, now enjoys a *muafi*

of about Rs. 200 per annum and owns land about 2000 *bighas*, at Panjwar in the Amritsar District.

2. RAMGARHIA MISL

This *Misl* took its name from the fort of Ramgarh at Amritsar. At its height its territory fetched an annual revenue of forty lakhs and it could muster 8,000 fighting men in the field. Sardar Jassa Singh, a carpenter of the village of Said Beg in the Lahore District, was the most distinguished Captain of its leaders.

Hardas Singh, the grandfather of Sardar Jassa Singh, served Guru Gobind Singh. After the Guru's death, he and his son Bhagwan Singh accompanied Banda Bahadur in wars against the Muhammadans. Hardas Singh was killed in an action in 1772 V.S. (1715 A.D.) at Bijwara. In V.S. 1776 (1719 A.D.) when the Singhs ceased hostilities on the Emperor granting them a *Jagir*, Sardar Bhagwan Singh and his four sons, alongwith 500 other Singhs, got themselves enlisted in the imperial service at Lahore. Sardar Bhagwan Singh and his son Jassa Singh were held in high respect by the Governor of Lahore. Bhagwan Singh was given the office of a leader of 100 *Sawars*. In V.S. 1797 (1740 A.D.) when Nadir Shah invaded India, Sardar Jassa Singh³ saved the life of the Governor of Lahore, Zakaria Khan, Khan Bahadur, at the risk of his own life upon which he was promoted to the office of a Sardar and was granted five villages in *Jagir* as a reward for his gallantry. When Adina Beg Khan, entered into hostilities with Ahmad Shah Abdali, Jassa Singh was so conspicuous in his bravery that Adina Beg made him commander of his own troops. However, when hard pressed by the Afghans, Adina Beg fled in 1757 A.D. towards the hills, Jassa Singh joined the Singhs at Ramgarh in fighting against the Pathans and was distinguished for his boldness. He was greatly respected by the Singhs and the fort of Ramgarh was granted to him in recognition of his services. Thenceforward he was called Ramgarhia and his *Misl* and his followers also got that appellation.

3. It was Bhagwan Singh who saved the life of Khan Bahadur, Zakaria Khan and not Jassa Singh. The villages were also granted to Bhagwan Singh. See Prithipal Singh Kapoor, *Jassa Singh Ramgarhia* (Singh Brothers, Amritsar).—Ed.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia played a very conspicuous part during various invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali and was very famous for his successful expeditions. In 1759 A.D. he besieged and conquered Dinanagar, Batala, Kalanaur, Sri Hargobindpur, Qadian, Ghumman and many other towns in the Districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur. He established his headquarters at Sri Hargobindpur and within the next few years became master of almost the whole country between the Satluj and the Beas towards the hills. Some of the Hill Rajas became his tributaries.

The two Jassa Singhs, i.e. the Ramgarhia and the Ahluwalia, were not generally on good terms. Once the Ahluwalia Chief was passing near Gurdaspur on his way to Achal, a place of pilgrimage near Batala. Khushhal Singh, Mali Singh and Tara Singh, brothers of the Ramgarhia Chief, attacked him unawares. His troops were dispersed and himself taken prisoner, but when he was taken before the Ramgarhia Chief, he under certain circumstances, thought it prudent to release him with rich gifts. This insult to the Ahluwalia Chief inflamed the whole Khalsa nation who held Ahluwalia in high esteem. Therefore in 1834 V.S. (1777 A.D.) Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and several other Chiefs combined, and attacked the Ramgarhia Chief in 1778 A.D. The Ramgarhia Chief was compelled to flee from his country towards Malwa. During his exile, he travelled in distant places and plundered towns like Agra and Mathura. Several Rajas like that of Bhartpur and Dhaulpur paid him tribute. He also ravaged the country upto the walls of Delhi, and on one occasion penetrated into the heart of that town and plundered the Mughal Quarters. From the Mughal red fort he seized considerable royal property with 4 guns, vast military stores and a beautiful large slab of variegated coloured stones, which, upto this day, is preserved in the Bunga of Ramgarhias at Amritsar.

On his return, the Nawab of Mirat agreed to pay him Rs.10,000 a year on condition of his leaving his territory unmolested. Hissar was plundered to punish the Governor and to restore to their father two Brahman girls taken away by him by force. With the aid of Mahan Singh, the Chief of the Sukarchakia *Misl*, he was restored in his possessions in V.S. 1843 (1786 A.D.). He died in V.S. 1850 (1793 A.D.).

Jassa Singh left two sons, Jodh Singh and Bir Singh. The former succeeded as Chief of the *Misl*. He was valiant like his father and commanded vast influence. His cousin encroached upon the *Parganah* of Qadian, assessed at Rs. 800,000 a year, but he was so noble that he took no notice of it. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, considering him one of the most powerful Chiefs, courted his friendship and an oath of alliance was taken at the Golden Temple at Amritsar between the Chiefs, in the presence of the Holy Granth Sahib. This was called the 'saffron bond'. After that he was very useful to the Maharaja, and in token of his services he was granted *Jagir* in V.S. 1866 (1809 A.D.) and again in V.S. 1869 (1811 A.D.) a revenue of about 37,000. Sardar Jodh Singh died in V.S. 1871 (1814 A.D.). Thereupon internecine quarrels ensued in the family, which ended in the treacherous imprisonment of Jodh Singh's sons and his brother, and the annexation of their territory by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, allowing them an annual *Jagir* of Rs. 35,000, which was subsequently increased to Rs. 90,000. Jodh Singh's son served the Maharaja as a Military commander in the expedition of Kashmir. On his death his son, Sardar Mangal Singh, served as a commander of 4,000 troops and distinguished himself in various ways. On the annexation of the Panjab, he rendered conspicuous service to the British Government, and was rewarded with a *Jagir* of Rs. 9,000 of which Rs. 3,600 was to continue in perpetuity. In 1862 he was appointed manager of the Golden Temple at Amritsar, where he performed his duties with tact and ability. The same year, he was appointed Honorary Magistrate of the City of Amritsar and in 1876 he was made Companion of the Star of India. The family still commands considerable respect in the Panjab.

3. THE KANHYA MISL

The founder of this *Misl* was Sardar Jai Singh, a Sandhu Jat, of Mauza Kana, 15 miles east of Lahore. At its best, it could muster into the field 8,000 combatants, and its possessions were assessed at Rs. 40,00,000 per annum. It bore its name after the name of the Sardar's village or his own comparison to Kahn or Kanhya (Krishna) on account of his personal appearance and

activity. His father and grand-father served Guru Gobind Singh. On the death of the Guru they joined Banda Bahadur during the time he dispensed retributive justice to the Muslim rulers in the Panjab.

Jai Singh joined the Dal Khalsa with several of his relations and rendered conspicuous service to the Khalsa Commonwealth. On the fall of Sarhind and Jalandhar in V.S. 1820 (1763 A.D.) he took possession of several *Parganahs* such as Hajipur, Datarpur, Mukerian, and extended his territory in V.S. 1823 (1766 A.D.) to Pathankot, Dinanagar, Sujampur, Gurdaspur etc.

His power was much strengthened when his gallant son Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh, who was born in V.S. 1817 (1760 A.D.) attained his maturity. The dominion was extended still farther and some of the Hill Rajas paid tribute.

In V.S. 1835 (1778 A.D.) when Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia was ousted, his territory was occupied by Sardar Jai Singh, on which the *Misl* became most powerful, but the premature death of Gurbakhsh Singh in V.S. 1842 (1785 A.D.) greatly affected its strength. Sardar Jai Singh died at the ripe age of 81 in 1850 V.S. (1793 A.D.). His grand-daughter Bibi Mahtab Kaur (Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh deceased's daughter) was, during his lifetime in 1786 A.D. married to Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Sardar Jai Singh left behind two sons who were unfit to assume the chiefship of the *Misl*. Therefore Sada Kaur, the mother of Mahtab Kaur, a widow of great ability and intrepidity, assumed command of the confederacy and managed the territory well. She fought with the Ramgarhias for a considerable period and took several of their *Parganahs* like Batala, Kalanaur, etc. She was conspicuous in her bravery on several occasions when fighting for her son-in-law, Maharaja Ranjit Singh in V.S. 1857 (1800 A.D.). She made over the whole of her territory to her grandsons (the sons of her daughter Mahtab Kaur) Maharaja Kharak Singh⁴ and Tara Singh. She kept for her maintenance only the fort of Atalgarh with the *Parganah* of Nurpur, but later on in V.S. 1861 (1804 A.D.) they were also

4. The correct name is Sher Singh who became the third Sikh Maharaja in 1841 and was assassinated by Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia in 1847.—Ed.

forfeited to Maharaja Ranjit Singh and she was deceitfully sent to Lahore and imprisoned there. She died as a state prisoner in V.S. 1830 (1823 A.D.) in misery as will be detailed further on. The sons of Jai Singh passed their life in the Maharaja's service and were granted no land assignments. The descendants of Jai Singh's brother, Gingha Singh, had a *Jagir* of Rs. 600, but that came from the Maharaja on account of their own services and had no concern with the relationship of Sardar Jai Singh.

4. THE NAKAI MISL

The principal leader of this *Misl* was Sardar Hira Singh, son of Hem Raj, a Sandhu Jat of Mauza Bharwal in the Chunian Tahsil of Lahore District. He was born in V.S. 1763 (1706 A.D.) and initiated into the Khalsa order by Bhai Mani Singh in 1788 V.S. (1731 A.D.). Soon after his initiation, he took to plundering and raiding. Many leaders of note joined his banner. He opened and maintained a *langar* which was a great attraction for the people. His village was situated in the country called Nakka lying between Lahore and Gogera in the direction of Multan. He was, therefore, called Nakai and the *misl* got its name accordingly. In V.S. 1818 (1761 A.D.) this *misl* occupied the *Parganahs* of Chunian, Dipalpur, Bharowal, Khudian etc., and at its zenith its revenue amounted to Rs. 4,50,000. It could muster about 7,000 strong force at the time of war.

In V.S. 1826 (1769 A.D.) Sardar Hira Singh attacked Pakpattan. He was killed in the battle, and his army dispersed. His son Dal Singh was a minor and therefore his cousin, Nahar Singh, became head of the *misl*, but he died of phthisis in V.S. 1829 (1772 A.D.) and was succeeded by his younger brother Ram Singh.

Ram Singh became a powerful chief. He increased the strength of the *misl* by enlistment of 2,000 more combatants and added to his territory the *Parganahs* of Kot Kamalia, Gogera, Kharl, Shahiwal, Fatehpur and parts of Pakpattan and Sharkpur. He died in V.S. 1839 (1782 A.D.) and his son Bhagwan Singh, assumed the command of the *misl*. The territory after his time began to decrease and after some short successions during the time of the last Chief, Sardar Kahn Singh, it was annexed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in V.S. 1864 (1807 A.D.). The

Chief was granted a *Jagir* of Rs. 15,000 in *Parganah* Bharowal. The *Parganah* of Nankot was given to Khazan Singh, his uncle. The family is now in the enjoyment of a handsome *Jagir* and also a good deal of landed property.

5. THE DALLEWALIA MISL

The founder of this *misl* was one Golaba, a Khatri, of Dalla in the *Parganah* of Sultanpur, near Dera Baba Nanak. He was a shopkeeper, but in V.S. 1793 (1736 A.D.) leaving his profession, he embraced Sikhism and was initiated into The Khalsa order with *pahul* by Nawab Kapur Singh. He was named Gulab Singh and then engaged in raiding. In a short time he entertained a good following. He was so famed for his gallantry that he was called *Rathaur* or valiant and became head of his *misl*, which took its name after his village. He made long and distant raiding expeditions and took a prominent part in plundering and injuring the army of Ahmad Shah Abdali. He died in V.S. 1816 (1759) while fighting with the Chief of Kalanaur. His sons had predeceased him, and therefore his chief associate, Gurdial Singh, succeeded him. But he also fell in action the next year and Sardar Tara Singh, a Jat nicknamed Gaiba (surpriser) for the ingenious manner in which he once surprised and plundered Chandpur after a long, secret and forced march of about 38 miles in a day, was elected Chief of the *Misl*. Sardar Tara Singh joined the Bhangi *misl* in reducing Qasur and acquired spoils worth several lakhs of Rupees. In V.S. 1818 (1761 A.D.) he took possession of the *Parganahs* of Nakodar, Balban, Bundala etc. and two years later he occupied Lodhar, Ropar, Kheri, Thenesar etc., and made Rahon his capital. His whole territory was worth about Rs. 5,00,000 a year and he could take the field at the head of about 7000 men.

When Maharaja Ranjit Singh rose to power, he tried thrice in V.S. 1859 (1802 A.D.) to reduce him, but failed. The Sardar had four sons, of whom Jhanda Singh was given the *Parganah* of Nakodar, Dasaundha Singh the Dakhni *Parganah*, and Gujar Singh the *Parganah* of Ghungrana. The youngest he kept along with himself. When Sardar Tara Singh died in V.S. 1864 (1807 A.D.) the Maharaja fraudulently approached his widow on the pretence of condoling with her on her bereavement, and

treacherously besieged her fort. She held her own and gallantly defended the fort and she would have succeeded in repulsing the invader if he had not heavily bribed her men to open the gates of the fort to him. Thereupon the valiant widow, Rattan Kaur was obliged to flee towards Banger. The Maharaja left 9 villages in *Jagir* for the maintenance of the widow and her four sons, annexing the whole of the rest to his own dominions. In V.S. 1877 (1820 A.D.) Bedi Bikram Singh usurped seven villages in possession of the sons of Tara Singh. When complaint was made to the Maharaja, he took no action. In V.S. 1879 (1822 A.D.) when the widow died, the remaining two villages which she had in *Jagir* were resumed by the Maharaja. In V.S. 1881 (1824 A.D.) Dasaundha Singh, died childless and the descendants of Jhanda Singh still enjoy a *Jagir* of about Rs. 800 in Baloki, and own some land there, but the possessions of all others were resumed by the Maharaja.

6. THE KAROR SINGHIA MISL

The founder of this *Misl* was Sardar Sham Singh, a Jat of Narli. He was killed in a battle in V.S. 1797 (1740 A.D.) and was succeeded by Sardar Karam Singh, a Khatri of Panjwarh. He was killed in an action against the Durrani in V.S. 1802 (1745 A.D.) at Amritsar, when Sardar Karora Singh, a Zamindar of Barki, was elected as Chief of the *Misl* which took its name after him. Sardar Baghel Singh of Jhubelwala was his chief associate, and noted for his bravery. He contributed greatly to the power of the *Misl*, which at its zenith, had an annual revenue of ninety lakhs and could muster for the field 12,000 strong.

In V.S. 1795 Sardar Karora Singh, with his relations, was forcibly converted to Islam by the Governor of Lahore, but after six months he rejoined the Khalsa and was re-initiated with *pabul*. In V.S. 1816 (1759 A.D.) he took possession of the *Parganabs* of Sium, Haryana etc. in the Hoshiarpur District. He made distant raiding expeditions and his booty brought in immense wealth. In V.S. 1818 (1761 A.D.) he fell in a fight at Tirawri, and Sardar Baghel Singh became head of the *Misl*.

In V.S. 1820 (1763 A.D.) he occupied Khurdin, Kanauri, Chhilaundi, Jamitgarh etc. worth Rs. 2,00,000 and made Chhilaundi in the Karnal District and Haryana in the Hoshiarpur

District his capitals. In V.S. 1835 (1778 A.D.) he went up into the heart of India and plundered Ghaziabad, Koel, Bareli, Chandosi, Hathras, Agra etc.

Once in V.S. 1827 (1767 A.D.) in conjunction with the other *Misls*, Delhi was conquered by Sardar Baghel Singh but, as the chiefs could not unanimously agree as to who among them should ascend the throne, all returned with a considerable booty. But Sardar Baghel Singh, at the request of the Emperor, halted for some time and constructed various Sikh shrines there. He was very prominent in fighting with the Durrani and others on several occasions. He died childless in V.S. 1859 (1802 A.D.) and Sardar Jodh Singh Kalsia, was recognized as head of the *Misl*. On his death his dominion partly remained in possession of his two widows and was partly occupied by the Maharaja of Lahore. The *Misl* thus collapsed. Again in V.S. 1863 (1807 A.D.) the Maharaja encroached upon the widow's possession and gave the *Parganah* of Khurdin, worth Rs. 1,00,000 to Sardar Jodh Singh Kalsia and the *Parganah* of Bahlolpur to Birbhan, his *Kardar*. However, later on, a part of the territory made over to Sardar Jodh Singh was restored by the British Government to the widow who originally occupied it. The territory which remained in possession of the widow ultimately lapsed to the British Government.

THE KALSIA STATE

Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh Sandhu Jat of the village of Kalsia, in Tahsil Qasur of the Lahore District, alongwith some of his relations, embraced the Khalsa faith and was initiated with the *pahul* ceremony by Bhai Mani Singh, in V.S. 1782 (1725 A.D.). He was very brave and formed a close friendship with Sardar Karm Singh, head of the *Misl*. When Karora Singh succeeded Sardar Karam Singh as chief of the *Misl*, Sardar Gurbakhsh Singh became his turban-friend and an ally of the *Misl*. He contributed greatly to the welfare of the *Misl* by many distinguished services. In a short time he enlisted many troops, and in V.S. 1816 (1759 A.D.) occupied the *Parganah* of Babeli, worth about Rs. 1,00,000 a year. In V.S. 1820 (1763 A.D.) he took Chhachhrauli, yielding Rs. 2,00,000 annual revenue. On his death in V.S. 1831

(1774 A.D.) his son Sardar Jodh Singh succeeded him. He was a man of great valour and capacity and extended his territory. When in V.S. 1859 (1802 A.D.) Sardar Baghel Singh the leader of the Karor Singhia *Misl* died childless, Sardar Jodh Singh was acknowledged as chief of that *Misl*. He did a great deal for Maharaja Ranjit Singh, by whom he was rewarded with the grant of handsome Jagirs bringing up his whole annual income to Rs. 5,00,000. In V.S. 1874 (1817 A.D.) while fighting at Multan for the great Maharaja of the Panjab, he was wounded, and died shortly after his return to his native village Kalsia. On his death his eldest son, Sardar Sobha Singh, succeeded him as Chief of the *Misl*, but one-fourth of the whole estate remained in possession of his younger brother Sardar Hari Singh, as granted by Sardar Jodh Singh himself.

The whole estate of Sardar Sobha Singh lay on both sides of the Satluj river and therefore when a treaty was concluded between the British Government and Maharaja Ranjit Singh fixing that river as boundary between the two sovereign powers, the Sardar deemed it advisable to give up his possessions on the Lahore side, cutting off his connection with the Lahore Darbar. The Maharaja sent for him several times, but he did not attend and therefore his territory on the Lahore side was forfeited to the Crown. At the time of the treaty in 1809 A.D. the State was worth of Rs. 2,50,000 a year, as compared to its present income of about 2,00,000 per annum.

During the war between the British Government and the Singhs, Sardar Sobha Singh rendered the former valuable service. Again during the time of mutiny both he and his son Sardar Lahna Singh did good service, and the latter was granted in March 1862, a Sanad conferring the right of adoption.

The Chief of Khalsa takes precedence over all Cis-Satluj Chiefs, except Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Malerkotla and Faridkot and is entitled to be received by His Excellency the Viceroy.

7. THE SINGHPURIA MISL

When the Singhs started on their mission for the removal of the oppression which was so cruelly exercised by the Muhammadan rulers on the Hindus, Sardar Dalip Singh, a Virk Jat of Faizullapur in the Amritsar District, joined the Khalsa and

distinguished himself for his bravery and undaunted spirit. He was killed in action in V.S. 1772 (1715 A.D.) and his son Nawab Kapur Singh succeeded him as leader. He was very sagacious, considerate, good-hearted, gallant, trustworthy, a well wisher of the Khasla, and a true devotee. He was the most respected figure among the Khalsa notables and practically the head of the Khalsa in almost all religious and political affairs. He was ever ready to be in the front and had received in various battles, 43 wounds on his body. He propagated the religion a great deal. A number of villages were converted to Sikhism by him, and initiation with *pahul* through his hands was considered a great merit. Raja Ala Singh of Patiala alongwith his relations and many Sardars, took the *pahul* from the hands of the Nawab at Thikriwala, where he constructed a large well in commemoration of the event. A brief account of his deeds and of his acquiring the title of Nawab has already been given in Chapter XII. In reality it was he who paved the way for the establishment of Khasla Nation as an independent and ruling power.

The *Misl* took its name from Faizullapur, the village of Nawab Kapur Singh, but when that village fell into the hands of Singhs, its name was changed to Singhpura, with a corresponding change in the name of the *Misl*. The numerical strength of the *Misl* was not much being about 2,500 combatants, but it was the fiercest and the most dreaded of all on account of its bravery and desperate fighting spirit.

The Nawab, who was childless, took possession in V.S. 1816 (1759 A.D.) of the *Parganahs* of Jalandhar, Lambra and Kapurthala and made over the first two to his nephew, Sardar Khushhal Singh and the last to his disciple Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. He died at Amritsar, in *Assu* V.S. 1817 (1760 A.D.) and a little before his death he declared that the heir of his property was his nephew, named above, and bestowed his honours and the leadership of the Khalsa on the Ahluwalia Sardar. On his death-bed he hailed the Ahluwalia as the future leader of the Khalsa Commonwealth, and his successor to the honour and supremacy he had enjoyed over the whole Khalsa community in all matters religious and political.

Sardar Khushhal Singh equalled his uncle in wisdom and

bravery and extended his conquests to both sides of the river Satluj and included Jalandhar, Narpur, Bahrapur, Bhartgarh and Patti. He died on 23rd *Chet* V.S. 1852 (1796 A.D.) in the fort of Lamba, when his eldest son Budh Singh became leader of the *Misl*.

Sardar Budh Singh extended his territory and helped Maharaja Ranjit Singh in several campaigns and was much respected in the Lahore Darbar. He fell out with the Maharaja chiefly on account of his own absence and failure to send his contingent during the Kashmir expedition, and of colouring his beard, which is against the tenets of the Khalsa religion.⁵ After he incurred the royal displeasure, he never came to Lahore although he was many a time invited to attend the Darbar. He sought protection of the British Government, and the Maharaja confiscated the whole of his territory worth Rs. 3,00,000 a year, which lay on the right side of the Satluj river, which was the common boundary recognised between the British Government and the Lahore Darbar by the treaty of 1809 A.D. He was so much grieved at this forfeiture that he died in *Sawan* V.S. 1873 (1816 A.D.) leaving behind seven sons. On his death, his territory was worth Rs. 1,50,000 per annum and was divided among his sons. His descendants still remain in possession of their estate with Manauli and Ghanauli as head-quarters and it is the estate which had fallen under British protection when the treaty of 1809 A.D. was concluded.

8. THE NISHANAWALI MISL

The founders of this *Misl* were Sardars Sangat Singh and Dasaundha Singh, Dhaul Muchhia⁶, Jats of Singhanwala in the Firozpur District. They were initiated with *Pahul* by Bhai Mani Singh, and joined Khalsa Army. They were joined by their relations, Jai Singh, Koer Singh and Man Singh. These five acted as standard-bearers and were termed Nishananwale, and were allotted a handsome share of booty. With lapse of time they became masters of an immense wealth, and enlisting an army

5. It is interesting that Maharaja Ranjit Singh showed much concern about adherence to the Sikh Code of Conduct when he himself had been guilty of gross violations of one of the four most serious dictates of the Khalsa Code of Conduct.—Ed.

6. Nicknamed on account of his grey moustaches.

established their own *Misl* under the name of Nishanawali. They could put to the front about 12,000 troops. Sardar Dasaundha Singh was recognized as head of the *Misl* and when in V.S. 1820 (1763 A.D.) he took possession of the country in the neighbourhood of Ambala, he fixed his capital at that town. In V.S. 1822 (1765 A.D.) he was killed while fighting against the Nawab of Mirat and was succeeded by his brother and chief associate, Sardar Sangat Singh. He died in V.S. 1831 (1774 A.D.) at Singhanwala and Mohar Singh, his son, was elected as head of the *Misl*. The *Misl* occupied Ambala, Lidran, Shahbad, Amlot and other districts, but in V.S. 1864 (1807 A.D.) it became extinct as it was driven out by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and its territory annexed to the Panjab. When the line of demarcation was fixed under the treaty of 1809 A.D. between the British Government and the Maharaja. Shahbad continued to remain in possession of a subordinate chief. The *Parganah* of Ambala was restored to a widow and lapsed to the British on her death in V.S. 1887 (1830 A.D.). The descendants of Sardar Mohar Singh now enjoy a petty *jagir* in Singhanwala.

9. THE MISL OF SHAHIDS

This *Misl* originated from *Shahid* (martyr) Deep Singh, a Jat of Pahu in the Amritsar *Parganah*. He was one of those who had served Guru Gobind Singh and accompanied Banda Bahadur during his holy war against the Muhammadan oppression. He had many associates of great repute and renown, like Gurbakhsh Singh, Sudha Singh, Prem Singh, Dargah Singh, Basant Singh etc. They were all called *Shahids* and the *Misl* was named accordingly. Properly speaking it was a religious rather than a military body. The Khalsa was the true embodiment of the Church militant and in those days, priests and laymen fought alike. The most prominent member of the *Misl* was *Shahid* Sudha Singh who was killed fighting against the Governor of Jalandhar. When his head was struck off "he is reported," says Sir Lepel Griffin, "to have ridden some distance and killed several of the enemy before he fell from his horse." This *Misl* generally fought to render assistance to others rather than on its own account.

Shahid Deep Singh took possession of the *Ilaqa* of Sialkot in V.S. 1816 (1759 A.D.) and made it over to his disciples, *Shahids* Dayal Singh and Natha Singh, who ultimately assigned it for the maintenance of the 'Ber Baba Nanak' shrine at Sialkot.

When in V.S. 1818 (1761 A.D.) the Muhammadans reoccupied Amritsar and began to fill up the sacred tank there with earth, *Shahid* Deep Singh, attacked them at the head of a handful of troops, and succeeded in compelling the Durrani to evacuate after great slaughter. The *Shahid* fell a true martyr in that action. He was succeeded by *Shahid* Sudha Singh as leader of the *Misl*. He was killed the next year and *Shahid* Karm Singh, was elected head of the confederacy. In V.S. 1820 (1763 A.D.) he occupied Shahzadpur, Majri and Kesri, worth Rs. 1,00,000 a year and extended his territory farther after that. In V.S. 1835 (1778 A.D.) the Nawab of Rania assigned him 12 villages in *Jagir* for the maintenance of his shrine, on the condition that the Singhs should abstain from raiding his territory.

Shahid Karm Singh died in V.S. 1851 (1794 A.D.) and was succeeded by *Shahid* Gulab Singh, his son, who was without his father's qualifications, and therefore a good deal of his territory slipped from his hands. He was the first Singh who went to the British resident at Delhi in January 1804 A.D. and expressed his desire for British protection. The family rendered valuable service to the British Government during the mutiny of 1857. Jivan Singh, the grandson of Gulab Singh, was married to the daughter of Mahinder Singh of Patiala in V.S. 1941 (1884 A.D.) which greatly contributed to the honour and income of the chief. His state now is worth about Rs. 50,000 a year.

10. THE AHLUWALIA MISL

For a detailed account of this as well as the *misl* of Phulkian, *The Rajas of the Panjab*, by Sir Lepel Griffin and other historians should be consulted. Here we propose to give a brief sketch of the rise to ascendancy of this *Misl* as far as is compatible with the scope of our work.

The real founder of the *Misl* was Sardar Bagh Singh Kalal, of Hallo-Sadho. He was initiated into the Khalsa fold with *pahul* by Bhai Mani Singh in V.S. 1771 (1714 A.D.) and soon after

that became leader of a considerable body of troops. He was killed in an action at Hariana in V.S. 1788 (1731 A.D.). as he died childless, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia his nephew (sister's son) who was then about 13 years of age, was elected as head of the *Misl*. He rose to great power, enlisted 7,000 horsemen and occupied territory worth about Rs. 40,00,000 a year as will be explained hereafter. He was resident of Ahlu, a village in Lahore District, and was therefore called Ahluwalia. The *Misl* also was known after the name of the village.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was born in V.S. (1718 A.D.) and his father died in V.S. 1779 (1722 A.D.). Soon after, the orphan was taken by his mother to Mata Sundri, the widow of Guru Gobind Singh, at Delhi. That lady loved Jassa Singh Ahluwalia much and treated him as if he were her own son. In V.S. 1785 (1728 A.D.) Sardar Bagh Singh went to Delhi and urged his sister and Jassa Singh to return to the Panjab. At his departure, Mata Sundri blessed him and granted Jassa Singh Ahluwalia a sword and shield, a bow and a quiver, a silver mace and a dress of honour. She predicted his greatness, saying that he and his descendants would have mace bearers to attend on them. On his return from Delhi, Sardar Bagh Singh, encamped close to the camp of Nawab Kapur Singh, in the vicinity of Kartarpur. The Nawab was much pleased with the handsomeness of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and finding in him a well behaved, intelligent and promising youth, he initiated him with the *pabul* and kept him as his own disciple and adopted son, because he was childless. A short time after that the Nawab told Jassa Singh Ahluwalia that he was destined to be a 'Badshah' (King). Thereafter he was greatly raised in the estimation of the Khalsa and was called 'Badshah' and was much respected by the Singhs. When Sardar Bagh Singh was killed, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia though 13 years old, was able to conduct the business of his *Misl*, and the Panthic affairs. Therefore Nawab Kapur Singh with the general consent of all concerned, appointed him leader in place of his deceased uncle.

At the time of his succession Mata Sundri sent him a dress of honour from Delhi. He acquired a great reputation, because he proved to be a brave and gallant warrior, an able and

competent leader. He was renowned for his political talents, religious zeal and lofty aspirations and he rose to be one of the most powerful federal Chiefs of the Panjab. When Nawab Kapur Singh died, all the command, spiritual and political that he had; devolved upon Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and he was regarded by the Singhs as their religious leader. He was greatly respected as the most saintly and orthodox Singh leader. It was considered meritorious to get initiated by him and many leading Sardars took their *pahul* from him. Maharaja Amar Singh of Patiala also received his Singh baptism from him. He was the most successful general and it was he alone, before Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who considerably contributed towards the consolidation of the Singh power, although he had no acknowledged command of the Singh forces. Whenever any combination of the confederacies took place against a common enemy, the nominal command of the whole rested with Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. All the confederacies during his time, were independent and hostile to each other, but they often combined to attack or encounter a common enemy. The influence of the Sardar can be estimated from the fact that inspite of the comparative inferiority of the *Misl* in numerical strength, he was allowed the privilege of lording over the whole Khalsa army.

In V.S. 1824 (1767 A.D.) the confederacies in a combined attack conquered Delhi. Entering into the fort, they seated Jassa Singh on the throne. The majority were of opinion that he should become Emperor, but Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia and his allies were against it because of their long standing enmity. Upon this two factions were formed and they stood with drawn swords in their hands. But the Ahluwalia Sardar was too noble to divide the Khalsa thus, and left Delhi quietly in order to end the dispute. None therefore occupied the throne which was left vacant for the old Mughal Emperor.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia distinguished himself in many battles and performed feats of great valour, bravery and intrepidity, as has already been mentioned in Chapter XII. In religious matters also he took a leading part. To the rebuilding of the sacred Temple at Amritsar he contributed greatly.

In V.S. 1797 (1740 A.D.) when Nadir Shah was on his way

back from Delhi, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia inflicted a serious loss on him and seized a good deal of his baggage and treasure.

In V.S. 1804 (1747 A.D.) he took leading part in killing Jaspat Rai and plundering Emnabad. Next year Diwan Lakhpat Rai, who was despatched by the Governor of Lahore for the extermination of the Singhs, was seriously shattered, which was mostly due to the exertions of this Chief. He attacked and killed the Governor of Amritsar and occupied a large part of that district. In 1749 A.D. he was of great assistance to Diwan Kaura Mal, in defeating and killing Shah Nawaz Khan, the Governor of Multan.

In V.S. 1814 (1757 A.D.) Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was defeated by Adina Beg Khan, the *faujdar* of Jalandhar with the help of Sardar Jassa Singh Ramgarhia. A few years later this defection was terribly revenged, and the Ramgarhia Chief was compelled to flee his country. Ousted from his territory he had to spend many years in exile.

In 1753 A.D. Aziz Khan, the commander of the Lahore forces, was defeated by him. In 1755 A.D. Adina Beg Khan was compelled to cede to him, the *Parganah* of Fatehabad on the river Bias, which he made his capital. In 1761 A.D. while Ahmad Shah Durrani was engaged in his campaign against the Marhattas, Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia occupied a good part of the country in which he built fortified posts. Within the next few years he seized an extensive territory. In 1777 A.D. he took the town of Kapurthala and established his head-quarters there. He died at Amritsar in 1783 A.D. at the age of 65. He was present in almost all battles of any importance which took place during his lifetime. He always took a leading part and had received 32 wounds on the front part of his body. He was an enterprising and a liberal patriot. Once he rescued 2,000 women whom Ahmad Shah was taking to Kabul to serve as slave girls. He liberally provided them with money and sent them all to their respective homes under proper escort. This act of patriotism greatly increased his estimation and made him greatly popular among all classes of the people.

Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia had no male issue. Sardar Bhag Singh, his second cousin, then in his thirty-sixth year was elected Chief of the *Misl*. He made some additions to his

territory and died in V.S. 1858 (1801 A.D.). Sardar Fateh Singh, his only son, succeeded him. In V.S. 1859 (1802 A.D.) Maharaja Ranjit Singh visited him at Fatehabad for condolence on the death of his father, and formed an alliance, both offensive and defensive. They came to Amritsar, and exchanging their turbans as a token of brotherhood, swore on the Holy Granth the continuance of their friendship and sharing of all their new territorial acquisitions equally between themselves.

In 1805, the Marhatta Chief, Jaswant Rao Holkar, was defeated by Lord Lake. He came to the Panjab in order to obtain help from the Singh Chieftains. At the end of that year the British Government concluded peace with him and entered on 1st January 1806 into a treaty of friendship with Sardar Fateh Singh and Maharaja Ranjit Singh by which these Chiefs were required to remove the Marhatta Chief with his army to the distance of thirty *kos* (72 kms.) from Amritsar and never thereafter to hold any friendly relationship with him. The British Government on its part promised these Chieftains peaceful possession of their territories as long as their conduct remained friendly towards itself. Sardar Fateh Singh acted in the management of this treaty both on his own behalf as also on behalf of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Sardar Fateh Singh increased his territory to an extent and after he entered into an alliance with Maharaja Ranjit Singh, he proved a very valuable friend for him, contributing much towards the extension, establishment and management of his kingdom. On various occasions, he played the part of a brave general in the field and a competent and talented statesman at Lahore, whenever the Maharaja went to the battle-field leaving him behind incharge of the Capital.

Mr. Metcalfe, the English commissioner, visited Lahore in September 1808 A.D. and in his letter, dated 8th November 1808 to the Government of India, he explained his estimate of Sardar Fateh Singh's character and position. The following extract from that letter will be read with interest by our readers :

"Sardar Fateh Singh of Ahlu has been supposed to be particularly attached to the Raja (referring to Maharaja Ranjit Singh), but he is in reality particularly discontented with him. Ranjit Singh and Fateh Singh entered into

alliance in early life, and to this alliance the former is principally indebted for his extraordinary rise. The quiet character of Fateh Singh, who was the equal, if not the superior, in rank and power of Ranjit Singh, has yielded to the bold commanding spirit of the other, and he has been the ladder by which Ranjit Singh has mounted to greatness. He now finds himself not the companion and friend of an equal status, as formerly, but the nominal favourite of a master. The outward show of intimacy and friendship is preserved, but there is no confidence. He is not of the Raja's council, nor is he entrusted with his secrets, but marches with a considerable force in the train of Ranjit Singh, without knowing whither or for what purpose. Fateh Singh, in rank, and consideration, in military force and territorial possessions, is the first of the Chiefs of Ranjit Singh's army. He possesses the country east of the Satluj from Jagraon to that river, the country generally between the Satluj and the Bias, and the country to the west of the Bias as far as Amritsar. He has a very fair reputation and is looked upto by the disaffected as the fit person to be put at the head of a confederacy to throw off the yoke; but he is evidently not a revolutionist."

When Maharaja Ranjit Singh rose to power and began to absorb some of the other Singh confederacies, the Singh Chieftains generally became very suspicious of him and wanted to overthrow his power. They wanted a directing head and they found Sardar Fateh Singh alone fit to become that head. It was their earnest desire that he should assume the command, but he was ever true and faithful to the covenant of alliance he had entered into. In the majority of Ranjit Singh's campaigns he served him with his contingent. He fought in various battles and was present at the last famous siege of Multan in 1818 A.D. when the Maharaja became master of the whole province. The avaricious Maharaja appears to have been not only slow and evasive in carrying out the terms of friendship in regard to sharing the new territorial possessions, he also coveted the possessions of his faithful ally and true and sincere friend who had rendered him so much valuable service. By that time a

treaty had been drawn up in 1809 A.D. between the British Government and the Maharaja, as two sovereign powers, and the river Satluj was fixed as their common boundary. Neither of these two powers could cross that river. In December 1825 A.D. the Maharaja sent two battalions under Faqir Aziz-ud-Din and Anand Ram Pindhari, to Bist Jalandhar to seize Sardar Fateh Singh's possessions. The Sardar was alarmed and fled along with his whole family across the Satluj. He attempted to procure from the British Government some guarantee for the security of his territory lying on the Lahore side of the Satluj. That Government could not, of course, under the terms of the treaty, interfere. It is said that at that very time the disaffected Singh Chiefs again offered their services to fight against the Maharaja, but Sardar Fateh Singh considered it below his dignity to fight against one with whom he had sworn eternal friendship.

On Sardar Fateh Singh's flight, the Lahore army occupied his Trans-Satluj territory and expelled his garrisons. However, it appears that the Maharaja afterwards was sorry for his rashness, and expressed his desire for a reconciliation and gave assurance for the security of the Sardar's person and property, and he was ultimately reinstated in his possessions with some exceptions.

Sardar Fateh Singh died in October, 1837 and his son, Nehal Singh, succeeded him. He had several opportunities of showing his goodwill towards the British Government and rendered important service on various occasions. After the assassination of Maharaja Sher Singh in September 1843 A.D. and the proclamation of Dalip Singh as his successor, Sardar Nehal Singh might have "become the foremost man in the Panjab," says Sir Lepel Griffin, "and he might have obtained the leadership in the Panjab, which might have been his, had he come forward to head the Khalsa," but he did not come to Lahore, nor did he care to interfere in the affairs of the Darbar there.

During the time of Raja Nehal Singh, and since the Sikh war of 1845 A.D., there have been some modifications in the area and income of the State, and it would be beyond our scope to go into all those accounts. Suffice it to say that in 1854 A.D. its actual annual revenue was stated to be Rs. 5,77,763 and it

now flourishes under the British protection as one of the most loyal, sincere and faithful dependencies. Its area is 630 square miles with an annual revenue of Rs. 25,00,000 including about Rs. 13 lakhs from the Oudh estates which have been granted by the British Government in recognition of the services rendered by the State.

11. THE PHULKIA MISL

The founders of the Patiala, Nabha and Jind States are descended from a common ancestor, Chaudhri Phul, a Sidhu Jat, whose descent is claimed from Jesal, a Bhatti Rajput and founder of the city of Jesalmer in Rajputana. Phul was the second son of Rup Chand, by a Jat woman, and was born in 1619 A.D. in Mauza Bedowali. Phul's great-great grand-father, Chaudhri Pakho, was blessed by Guru Hargobind, the sixth Guru, for a prosperous progeny. The village of Mehraj was, by the advice of Guru Har Rai, the seventh Sikh Guru, founded by Mohan, the grand-father of Phul. Mohan's great-grand-father was Mehraj, and the village was named after him. The Guru (Har Rai) again toured that country and Phul, during his childhood, was blessed and the prophecy (*vide* Chapter VII) was fulfilled. He founded a village about five miles from Mehraj, and named it Phul. The office of Chaudhri had long been held by his family, and in his turn, Phul was confirmed therein by a royal *farman*. He became a powerful Sardar and the father of six sons, one of whom died childless, and the rest became ancestors of the Chiefs of Patiala, Jind and Nabha States, and the Sardars of Badrukhan, Laudgarhia, Malaudh, Jiandan and Bhadaur. Phul died in 1652 A.D. and Tiloka, the eldest son, succeeded him as Chaudhri. The families of Nabha and Jind descended from him. Rama or Ram Chand, the second son, got the Sardari, and became ancestor of the Patiala family. About the year 1680 A.D. these two brothers, Tiloka and Rama, founded the village of Rupa after the name of their grandfather, Rup Chand, and it is up to present day jointly held by their descendants.

Before giving an account of the Nabha and Jind houses, we proceed to deal with the family of Patiala. Sardar Rama or Ram Chand, in course of time, grew very powerful, and overran

the neighbouring countries, and formed a considerable following. He founded the village of Rampura and took up his residence there. He was killed in 1714 A.D. by his nephews—Biru and Ugarsen—in avenging the death of their father, Chain Singh, whom, Rama, on account of a quarrel, had caused to be murdered. He left six sons Dunna, Sobha, Ala Singh, Bakhta, Ladha and Budha Singh, but the third son who was born in 1695 A.D. was abler and stronger than his brothers and became Chief of his father's confederacy. He founded the Patiala kingdom. His first act was to avenge the death of his father. Soon after that, he established a *Thana* or police station in Sangirah. In 1718 A.D. he rebuilt Barnala which had fallen into ruins and made it his capital. In 1731 A.D. he captured and destroyed Nima. At this Rai Kalla of Kot collected a large army and assisted by Nawab Sayad Asad Ali Khan, the Imperial General of Jalandhar Doab and many other chiefs, attacked Barnala. The Imperial General was slain and the enemy was routed with Great slaughter. Many were taken prisoners and the greater part of the enemy's baggage fell into the hands of Raja Ala Singh. This success tended greatly to increase his power and strengthen his position. His neighbours began to fear him and Singhs began to gather under his banner. He accompanied the Governor of Sarhind on several expeditions. He conquered many villages and also built new ones. The Emperor of Delhi, hearing of his progress and fame, asked him by a royal *farman*, for help in the management of Sarhind, with the promise of the title of Raja. In 1749 A.D. he built the fort of Bhawanigarh and in 1752 A.D. he conquered the district of Sanawar (Sanaur); also known as *Chaurasi* (eighty-four) from the number of villages it contained including Patiala, now capital of the territory. Within the next five years, he added much to his territory and in 1757 consolidated his power by defeating the Bhattis, Muhammad Amin Khan and Muhammad Hassan Khan, who were assisted by Nawab Nasir Khan, the Mugal Governor of Hissar.

In 1762 A.D. Ahmad Shah Abdali, invaded Barnala. The Singhs made a common cause and the Phulkia Chiefs with the Ahluwalia *Misl* under Sardar Jassa Singh, and other confederacies, gave a battle with their combined forces and sustained heavy

losses. Sardar Ala Singh was taken prisoner and the Abdali victor, who was willing to conciliate the Singhs, released him on payment of Rs. 4,00,000. When in March 1762 A.D. the Chief was released, the Shah embraced him and gave him a dress of honour, with the title of Raja. At the same time he was recognized as an independent monarch. Immediately after this the Raja moved his capital from Barnala to Patiala and laid the foundation of the masonry fort there. When the Durrani king returned to Kabul, the Singhs conquered Sarhind and made it over to Raja Ala Singh. Next year i.e. 1763 A.D. that king again came to Sarhind and confirmed the Raja in his tenure of Sarhind on payment of an annual *nazrana* of three and a half lakhs of rupees. The Raja died of fever on 22nd of August 1765 A.D. He was succeeded by his grandson Amar Singh who was born in 1747 A.D. During his invasion of India in 1767 A.D., Ahmad Shah Abdali honoured him with the title of Raja-i-Rajgan Bahadur, and he was permitted to strike his own coin.

Amar Singh then, commemorating the occasion, spent a lakh of rupees in ransoming the captives who were being taken to Kabul, and gained for himself the popular title of *Bandi Chhor* or 'Releaser of Captives'.

The Raja attacked the Afghans of Malerkotla whose chief was killed in the battle. He conquered Mani Majra, Kot Kapura, Saifabad, Fatehabad, Sarsa and Rania. The fort of Bathinda was taken in 1771 A.D. He also took possession of Hansi, Hissar, Rohtak but these were subsequently surrendered to the Delhi empire in a compromise arrived at with the Imperial Government. There had been more fightings and in February 1781 A.D., Raja Amar Singh died of dropsy at the age of 35. It was a highly lamentable loss because the Raja was a wise and gallant statesman, and if he had lived longer, he might have welded the Cis-Satluj States into one kingdom with a possibility of establishing an independent kingdom on a sound footing. For many years after his death, the reins of government were held by women than by an able and strong directing head like himself or his illustrious father. It was a great misfortune indeed that he died before he had consolidated his conquests and his successors could find none caring to help or follow them in the field. To the contrary there were many powerful Singh

Chiefs who envied the Patiala house for the rapid glory it had attained and strove to undermine and destroy it. The power and influence which had been gained with so much labour by the deceased Raja Amar Singh and his father began, in the absence of an able successor, to diminish day by day, and the protection of the British Government was implored with a view to preserving its independence.

Raja Amar Singh was succeeded by his son Sahib Singh, a child of six years of age, and soon after he ascended the throne, rebellion broke out in all quarters. For many years it was the women alone who possessed wisdom, energy and courage in that family. At times they personally led the force in the field and displayed undaunted spirit, and extraordinary bravery. There were great difficulties, in managing the State, and much of the territory which had been seized by the neighbouring Chiefs was recovered. Leaving aside the internal rebellions, there were foreign invasions which had to be repulsed. Internecine quarrels were many and court intrigues numerous. The minority of the Chief was long, and the Diwan Nanun Mal, Prime Minister, was too honest to be successful. As is generally the case with an honest man in power, he was assailed by parasites and slaves who hate such a character, which is a perpetual menace and reproach to themselves. Raja Sahib Singh's ears were poisoned against him, and while he was yet fourteen years old, he became much disaffected. The Diwan had done a great and valuable service to the state, and had shown himself to be not only brave but far-sighted and anxious for the good of the State, but was ill rewarded. Intrigues compelled him to leave the State. The selfish minister wanted the young Raja to confine his attention to pleasure. Nautches, hunting, and elephant fights, so that the State affairs might be entirely left to their care and management, with a view to aggrandizing and enriching themselves. Thus the confusion was great and obstacles in the way of proper administration many. The British protection was granted in April 1809, when a treaty of peace and eternal friendship was drawn up between the British Government and Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The mismanagement in the State had come to such a pass that the paramount power was compelled to intervene. Although by the proclamation of 3rd May 1809 the Chiefs reserved the right

of perfect liberty in their internal affairs, at the request of the great Chiefs of the Phulkian house and owing to the disorder and anarchy in the State, the British Government interfered, and order and peace were restored. The arrangements worked well, although not without great trouble and difficulty, until Raja Sahib Singh suddenly fell ill, and died on the 26th March 1813 A.D. He was succeeded by Karam Singh, the heir-apparent. He rendered valuable services to the British Government in the campaign against the Gorkhas, who had for years, been encroaching on British territory. At the close of the war, he was granted by the British Government sixteen *Parganahs* of Wahili, Keonthal Baghat etc. Karam Singh died on the 3rd December 1848 A.D. and his son Narinder Singh, then twenty-three years of age, succeeded him. He rendered valuable services to the British Government during the war with the Singhs in 1845 A.D. and his services were duly recognized by the grant of a *Sanad*. During the Mutiny of 1857-58 the Maharaja of Patiala showed greater loyalty and rendered more conspicuous service to the British Government than any other Prince in India. He was splendidly rewarded for these services. Among other things he was granted the Narnaul division of the Jhajjar territory worth Rs. 2,00,000 a year on condition of "good behaviour and service, military and political, at any time of general danger or disturbance".

The State has rendered several other services to the British sovereign power and there have been more internal affairs which lie beyond the scope of this history. Maharaja Narinder Singh died on 13th November 1862. He was succeeded by his son, Mahinder Singh, and the State is now being ruled by his grandson. The State enjoys the perpetual protection of the British Government and its revenue from all sources for the financial year 1868-69 was Rs. 42,78,92,833 and that for 1892 was Rs. 56,13,771. Now its area is 5,412 square miles with annual revenue of Rs. 82,65,101.

JIND STATE

The history of the houses of Patiala and Jind upto Phul, is the same as has already been recorded in regard to Patiala. Chaudhri Tiloka, the eldest son of Phul, had two sons, Gurdit

Singh and Sukhchain Singh. The elder was the founder of the Nabha family and from the younger have descended the Chiefs of Jind, Budrukhan and Bazidpur. Chaudhri Tiloka succeeded his father as Chaudhri, but he did not extend his share of the ancestral property. His second son Sukhchain Singh founded several new villages, one of which was called Sukhchainwala after his name. He had three sons, Alam Singh, Gajpat Singh and Bulaki Singh. The eldest was a brave soldier and after the conquest of Sarhind in 1763 A.D. took possession of a considerable tract of country, but he died childless in 1764 A.D. by a fall from his horse. The youngest brother became the ancestor of Dialpuria Sardars and died in 1785 A.D. Gajpat Singh, the second son, was born about 1738 A.D. He married in 1754 A.D. one of the widows of his brother Alam Singh had succeeded to his estate. His daughter Bibi Raj Kaur was married to Sardar Mahan Singh Sukarchakia and became the mother of Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Lahore.

In 1763 A.D. when the Governor of Sarhind was defeated, Raja Gajpat Singh occupied a large tract of country, including the districts of Jind and Safedon, extending to Panipat and Karnal. Although he had seized the country by force of arms, he acknowledged the sovereign power of the Delhi Emperor and continued to pay revenue. Ultimately in 1772 A.D. by a Royal *farman* he was created a Raja and acknowledged as an independent power, with authority to coin money in his own capital. Next year Rahimdad Khan, the Governor of Hansi, with the help of other Chiefs, attacked Jind but was killed, and his troops routed. The victor then seized the country upto Hansi. After that he occupied the district of Gohana. He died in 1786 A.D. His territory was divided between his two surviving sons Bhag Singh and Bhup Singh. Bhag Singh took Jind and Safedon with the title of Raja, whilst the other was given the estate of Badrukhan. In 1786 A.D. the Raja got the districts of Gohana and Khar in *Jagir* by the Emperor of Delhi. In 1803 A.D. he sought alliance with the British Government. He died in 1819 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Fateh Singh. The State is worth more than Rs. 7,00,000 a year and is under the perpetual protection of the British Government. It had rendered considerable services to the sovereign power on different

occasions in the event of disturbances. And it has been magnificently rewarded by the British Government by the grant of territorial possessions of great value. Now its area is 1,259 square miles and annual revenue of Rs. 13,00,000.

THE NABHA FAMILY

The ancestor of this family was Chaudhri Tiloka whose account has been given in the histories of Patiala and Jind. When Tiloka died in 1687 A.D. his estate was divided between his two sons Gurditta (subsequently Gurdit Singh) and Sukhchain. The history of the latter is connected with the Jind State, and Sardar Gurdit Singh became the founder of Nabha state. On the estate that fell to his lot, he founded the village of Dhanaula, and some time after that the town of Sangrur, which, for sometime, remained the head-quarters of the Nabha State, till it was taken by the Raja of Jind. Sardar Gurdit Singh considerably extended his possessions by taking the neighbouring country. These brothers were always on bad terms and their disputes often ended in bloodshed.

Sardar Gurdit Singh died in 1754 A.D. and Hamir Singh, his grandson succeeded him, as his only son Suratya Singh predeceased his father, having two sons Hamir Singh and Kapur Singh. The latter founded Kapurgarh and added to his estate the villages of Pakho and Bandiala, but died childless, and his estate reverted to Hamir Singh.

Sardar Hamir Singh was a very brave, energetic and enterprising Chief and largely extended his possessions. In 1775 A.D. he founded the town of Nabha. Four years after that he occupied Bhadson, and in 1763 A.D. when Sarhind was conquered by the Singhs he took Amloh and in 1776 he conquered Rori. He established his own mint which indicates his complete independence.

Gajpat Singh, the Raja of Jind, (who was his uncle, being third in descent from Tiloka) on some frivolous pretext invaded Nabha in 1774 A.D. and treacherously making him prisoner, wrested away the town of Sangrur, which has never been restored to its original owner. During his imprisonment, his Rani, Deso, recovered most of the territory which was thus seized by Raja Gajpat Singh.

Raja Hamir Singh died in 1783 A.D. and his son Raja Jaswant Singh who was then only eight years of age, succeeded him. His step-mother, Mai Deso, a woman of great courage and resolution and who had a great capacity for work, was appointed his Regent to carry on the affairs of the State during his minority. She died in 1790 A.D. and Raja Gajpat Singh, having died a year earlier, the relations of the two states—Jind and Nabha—became more friendly. The Raja obtained protection of the sovereign power, the British Government, in 1809 A.D. along with the other States. In 1810 A.D. the emperor of Delhi conferred upon the Raja the title of *Barar Bans Sarmour Malmindra Bahadur*. He died on 22nd May, 1840 A.D. and was succeeded by his only surviving son Devindar Singh, then 18 years of age. The deceased Raja was a faithful ally of the British Government and rendered valuable services on various occasions. Raja Devindar Singh did not promise well, and failed to become a successful ruler and sincere ally of the sovereign power. As a result of an inquiry instituted into his conduct, he was deposed and deported in December 1855, with a pension of Rs. 50,000. Some of his territory was confiscated of which a part was retained by the British Government in lieu of the contingent service and the remainder divided equally between the Maharaja of Patiala and the Raja of Faridkot as a reward for their services to the British Government.

On the deposition of Raja Devindar Singh, his eldest son Raja Bharpur Singh was placed on the throne. As he was then merely a boy of seven, Rani Chand Kaur, his step-grandmother, was appointed guardian, and she was aided by three of the most respectable officers of the Nabha State. The young Raja rendered conspicuous services during the Mutiny and was rewarded, among several concessions, with the perpetual grant of territory worth about Rs. 30,000 a year, and the divisions of Bawal and Kanti, in the confiscated Jhajjar territory, worth Rs. 1,06,000 per annum. Raja Bharpur Singh died sonless in September 1863 A.D. and his younger brother Raja Bhagwan Singh ascended the throne. He also died childless in 1871 A.D. and his collateral, Raja Hira Singh succeeded him.

The State is now flourishing under the excellent management of the present Raja who is an able statesman. Its

annual revenue from all sources in 1870 A.D. was about Rs. 7,00,000; but owing to the various improvements since effected, it has now nearly doubled. The present Raja is one of the most sincere and faithful allies of the British Government and has rendered many excellent services.

The present area of the State is 923 square miles with an annual revenue of Rs. 15,42,906.

12. THE SUKARCHAKIA MISL

The founder of this *Misl* was Sardar Budha Singh, a Sahnsi Jat. He claimed his descent from the famous Raja Salbahan, a Bhatti Rajput, who flourished about 1900 years ago. It is alleged that some time after his death, the Raja's descendants lost a good deal of their territory, and while they were in the confusion of a defeat, one of the Ranis, who was pregnant, took shelter in a hut belonging to the Sahnsis, a thievish and degraded tribe. She gave birth to a son who was named 'Sahnsra Bhat' but he was nicknamed Sahnsi. Raja Kritu is said to have been his son, who having founded Sahnsra in 1516 A.D. named it after his father and made it his capital. The village, however, became known by the name of Raja Sansi. His descendants, through the versatility of fortune, are said to have lost their territory and Bhag Mal, in 1678 A.D. was a mere Chaudhri when God blessed him with a son whom he named Budha. Subsequently he was initiated into the Khalsa religion and named Budha Singh.

The early history of the family, as can naturally be imagined, is obscure and enveloped in darkness. There are various tales, some mythical and some fabricated, both in favour of or against the ancient glory of this family. But the truth is that nothing certain is known beyond Chaudhri Bhag Mal, and whatever comes to us is a fiction of interested or hostile persons. There is no doubt that at some remote period, the ancestor of the family has formed some sort of association with the Sahnsis, whether real or imaginary, which resulted in their misnomer.

Chaudhri Bhag Mal and his father were orthodox Sikhs and followers of Guru Hargobind. Budha Singh received *pahul* at the hands of Guru Gobind Singh and served him alongwith his relations during the battles at Anandpur. Afterwards, he

joined the mission of Banda Bahadur and distinguished himself by his courage and sagacity. Later still, he became a bold, enterprising and successful free-booter. He had a piebald mare, called Desi, who, for her swiftness, was as famous as her master. During the time of Nawab Khan Bahadur,⁷ owing to the active persecution of the Singh religion, he felt himself unsafe at Raja Sansi and shifted his residence to Sukarchak. He rebuilt it and the confederacy was named after it. He had received some forty seven wounds on his body by various arms, and was killed while fighting the Afgans in 1736 A.D. near Majitha.

He had two sons, Chanda Singh and Naudh Singh, who were equal to their father in all respects and carried out marauding expeditions with their father. Naudh Singh was killed alongwith his father, leaving one son Charat Singh who was born in 1723 A.D. He was then about 7 and remained under the ancestor of Sandhanwalia Chiefs.

Sardar Charat Singh became a very powerful Chief and took command of the *Misl* at the age of about 16. Within a few years he increased his followers to 150 armed horsemen and seized possession of Gujranwala with all the villages in its neighbourhood, including Kachi Sarai, where he established his head-quarters.

In 1754 A.D. he built there a mud fort and provisioned it with munitions of war. Shortly after that he attacked Emnabad, killed the Mughal *Faujdar*, plundered the city and carried away considerable spoils and military stores from the arsenal. In 1758 A.D. with the help of the other Sardars he attacked and took possession of Sialkot. The Muhammadan Governor there, after hard fighting fled towards Jammu. In 1760 of A.D. Ubed Khan, the Afghan Governor of Lahore, at the head of 20,000 troops with 12 guns, besieged his head-quarters. The Sardar defended the place for about a month and was then assisted by Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and the Bhangi confederacy, on whose arrival the invading army was completely routed with great slaughter. Its Chiefs narrowly escaped with their lives and left all their guns and other munitions of war in the hands of the victors. This victory contributed largely to the power and fame

of the Sardar, and shortly after that, he expelled the Afghan Governor of Wazirabad and took possession of it. Within the next few years he seized Rohtas, Chakwal, Pind Dadan Khan, Pothohar (Dhani Pothohar), Sarai Kala and other large tracts of country which in all were worth about Rs. 3,00,000 a year. In 1766 A.D. he was engaged in an action which had ensued between the Singh Chiefs in the neighbourhood of Zafarwal on their way to Jammu. Sardar Charat Singh was killed by the bursting of his matchlock. Mahan Singh, his eldest son, then was about 12 years old, succeeded him under the guardianship of his mother Desan, who was assisted by Sardar Jai Singh, the Chief of the Kanhya *Misl*. In 1774 A.D. he was married to Bibi Raj Kaur, the daughter of Raja Gajpat Singh of Jind.

In 1780 A.D. Sardar Mahan Singh conquered Rasulnagar and Alipur and in commemoration of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's birth, which took place on the occasion of this victory, changed their names respectively to Ramnagar and Akalgarh. Sardar Mahan Singh was a brave, enterprising and prudent warrior. He extended his territory a good deal and died in April 1792 at the age of 27. He was succeeded by his son, Ranjit Singh, as head of the Sukarchakia *Misl*. Ranjit Singh's life forms a distinct era of its own in the annals of the Khalsa, and the following Chapter is devoted to it.

CHAPTER XIV

MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was born in November, 1780 A.D. His mother was Bibi Raj Kaur, the daughter of Raja Gajpat Singh of Jind. From his childhood he used to accompany his father in the battlefield. In 1790 A.D. he was present when his father was besieging the fort of Manchar held by Gulam Mahammad, a Chattha Chief, whose uncle, Hashmat Khan, climbing the elephant on which the 'would-be-lion' of the Panjab was sitting, was going to kill him, but was cut down by one of his attendants. A little before his death, Sardar Mahan Singh had invested the fort of Sohdra occupied by Sardar Sahib Singh, the Bhangi Chief, but he fell seriously ill. He was therefore carried to Gujranwala, and the young Maharaja was left in charge of the force in the field. Then several Sardars like Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Karam Singh, Dula and Jodh Singh Bhangi came to the assistance of Sahib Singh. On hearing this the siege was raised and the Maharaja encountered the reinforcing armies near Kot Maharaj. After sharp and severe fighting these Sardars were routed and the Maharaja returned in triumph to Gujranwala.

Three days after his return from Sohdra, Sardar Mahan Singh died and his son Ranjit Singh became the head of his family. As he was then about ten years old, his mother was appointed regent and was assisted by Diwan Lakhpat Rai, a Khatri of Naushahra, who was the Minister with the late Sardar. Sardarni Sada Kaur, the young Chief's mother-in-law, was an able, brave and courageous woman, and helped so much in the conduct of the affairs of his State, that she was considered the ladder by which the Maharaja had risen to his zenith. After the death of her father-in-law, Sardar Jai Singh, she assumed

the command of the Kanhya *Misl* to the exclusion of her deceased husband's two younger surviving brothers. She employed her extraordinary genius and military force in the aggrandizement of her son-in-law. Soon after he attained his manhood, the Maharaja contrived to free himself from the authority of his manager and female guardians. Diwan Lakhpat Rai was dispatched on a dangerous expedition upon which he was killed. The Maharaja killed his mother, according to some accounts with his own hands. The mother-in-law, Sada Kaur, was treacherously imprisoned and died wretchedly in a dungeon at Lahore.

About this time the Durrani King, Shah Zaman, grandson of the Ahmad Shah Abdali, was making frequent invasions into the Panjab with a view to regaining what had been lost. He twice occupied Lahore without opposition, but owing to the troubled state of his Afghan dominions, he could not stay to make necessary and permanent arrangements. The Singhs resorted to their old successful tactics of avoiding a pitched battle and harassing his rear guard and plundering his baggage. The Maharaja generally took this opportunity of crossing the Satluj and plundering the country through which he passed. He also took a prominent part in molesting the rear of the Durrani King on his retirement.

When in 1798 A.D. Durrani came to the Panjab, he passed several months in pursuing and punishing the Singhs with no success. When he left Lahore for Kabul, Ranjit Singh helped in collecting provisions for his camp at Gujranwala and in order to win his favour, dissuaded other Singh Chiefs from harassing him on his retirement. While crossing the Chenab¹ the Afghan King lost 12 guns in the flood and asked Ranjit Singh to send them to him, with the promise of granting him the title of Raja and the city and district Lahore. The young Chief succeeded in extricating 8 guns. He sent them to Peshawar and got, in return, what he had been promised by their master. Lahore at this time was governed by three Bhangi Sardars, and Ranjit Singh now got it from the Durrani King. He was invited by the

1. The canons were lost in floods while crossing Jhelum river and not Chenab. See J.D. Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, 108 (S. Chand & Co., New Delhi; 1981 reprint).

citizens of Lahore to occupy the town, as they were desirous of getting rid of the revolting excesses of the ruling Sardars. Therefore he marched upon Lahore and took possession of it in July, 1799 A.D. with little opposition, as he was secretly let into the town by the citizens.

In a very short time he gained much strength, and his power became predominant among most of the confederacies whose leaders contracted alliance. Many Sardars became jealous of him. One Hashmat Khan, a Chief of the Chatha tribe, laid an ambush, and when Ranjit Singh was on his way back from an hunting excursion, approached him and treacherously dealt him a blow with his sword. It missed him but struck the saddle. Ranjit Singh at once drew his sword and severed the assailant's head from the trunk.

In 1797 A.D. the Maharaja joined his mother-in-law, Sada Kaur and attacked Miani, the head-quarters of the Ramgarhia Chief with a view to punishing him for his encroachment on the widow's possessions. The siege continued for a long time, when the Ramgarhia was reduced to great straits, and he might have surrendered had not the sudden rise of the Bias river compelled the invaders to raise the siege with a heavy loss of camp furniture, and men and animals, which were carried away by the flood waters.

The rise of Ranjit Singh, with the legally acquired title of Raja, and the capture of Lahore, made him an object of envy and hatred among most of the Singh Chiefs and other neighbouring Sardars who supposed him their common enemy. A coalition was formed against him and many Sardars, the most prominent of whom were Jassa Singh Ramgarhia, Sahib Singh and Gulab Singh Bhangi, Nizam-ud-Din Khan of Qasur, at the head of a large army marched upon Lahore. Ranjit Singh collected as many of his troops from Lahore as he could and with the contingent of Sardarni Sada Kaur, he met the combined forces at Bhasin, about 10 kos (21 kms.) from Lahore. The hostile forces encamped opposite each other and carried on skirmishes for some months, until Gulab Singh Bhangi, nominal head of the field force, drank hard and was one morning found dead. Upon his death, the allied forces dispersed and many hostile Sardars, perceiving his ascending star, came under Ranjit

Singh's banner and contracted alliances. Ranjit Singh returned to Lahore in triumph, and the citizens received him with marks of great honour and respect and offered him valuable presents.

About that time he aided Sardarni Sada Kaur, his mother-in-law, and inflicted a signal defeat upon the Ramgarhia Chief near Batala. He seized Mirowal, Narowal, Jassarwal and got a present of Rs. 20,000 and an elephant from the Raja of Jammu. At the same time he reduced other places to submission. At that time Yusaf Ali Khan, agent of the British Government, arrived at Lahore with a friendly letter and presents from that government. He was received by the Maharaja with due honours, and dismissed with an exchange of valuable presents for the British Government.

On 1st *Baisakh* V.S. 1858 (April 1801) Ranjit Singh convened a grand Darbar at Lahore to which all the Chiefs and leading men of his dominions were invited. He then formally assumed the title of Maharaja. or Raja of Rajas. He opened a mint and struck his own coins bearing the inscription :

ਦੇਗ ਵ ਤੇਗ ਵ ਫ਼ਤਹ ਵ ਨੁਸਰਤ ਬੇਦਰੰਗ।

ਯਫ਼ਤ ਅਜ ਨਾਨਕ ਗੁਰੂ ਗੋਬਿੰਦ ਸਿੰਘ।

Deg va teg va fateh va nusrat bedrang,

Yafit az Nānak Gurū Gobind Singh.²

The reverse contained the name of the Maharaja,³ the date and place of coining. After going through the ceremonies of opening the mint, Rs. 1,100 were struck the same day given away in charity. At the same time he occupied himself in appointing various functionaries for the proper carrying out of the civil administration of the country. He appointed *Qazis*, *Muftis* and physicians as well as the police agency, on a permanent basis. Orders were issued giving protection to all subjects and they were promised to be sheltered from all outside aggression and internal disorder. Thus peace and order was restored in the country which had been the arena of famine, anarchy and chaos for centuries past.

Immediately after these administrative arrangements he commenced the task of reducing his refractory neighbours. The

2. For meaning, see Chapter XXIII.

3. The coins struck by Ranjit Singh did not bear his name.—Ed.

Bhangi Chief of Gujrat, the Pathans of Qasur, after hard fighting submitted. Sardar Dal Singh of Akalgarh was treacherously confined and compelled to submit. Shortly after his death, his family were treacherously and perfidiously arrested and their territory confiscated.

In 1802 A.D. the Maharaja exchanged at Amritsar his turban with Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, as a sign of sincere love and brotherhood and swore on the Holy Sikh Scripture, eternal friendship.

Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra encroached upon the territory of Sardarni Sada Kaur. He was repulsed and the Maharaja took a portion of his territory and made it over to his mother-in-law.

After that the Maharaja alongwith Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, subdued Daska, and other tracts of country without much resistance and made rapid progress in extending his territory. Multan was made to submit, and in December 1802 A.D. the remnants of Bhangi *Misl* at Amritsar were vanquished and their territory confiscated. In the beginning of 1803 A.D. he attacked Jhang and obliged the Sial Chief to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 60,000. The Chief of Uch paid him a heavy sum and the Baloch Chiefs of Sahiwal and Garh Maharaja paid their quota as a token of submission.

In 1804 A.D. the Maharaja undertook the reorganization and distribution of military commands to various Sardars, one of whom was Hari Singh Nalwa, who had risen from a menial attendant to the command of 900 troops, with the title of 'Bhai Sahib' because of his being the Maharaja's foster brother.⁴ This Hari Singh became a very powerful leader and cut a very prominent figure among the military leaders.

At the same time the subordinate Singh Chiefs and the Hill Rajas were required to produce, during the time of war, their respective contingents amounting to 29,000 in all.

Early in 1805 A.D. he entered into treaties with the Muhammadan Chiefs about the Chenab and Jhelum rivers. Jaswant Rao Holkar, the fugitive Marahatta Chief, came to Lahore. He was routed and pursued by the British forces under

4. This is incorrect. See A.S. Sandhu, *General Hari Singh Nalwa*, 2 (footnote †) New Delhi, 1987, reprint.—Ed.

General Lake. He requested the Maharaja for help for the restoration of his territory. Help was refused, but the Maharaja interceded and negotiated for peace. He sent his representative to the British camp on 19th December 1805, and on the conclusion of negotiations, a treaty was drawn up on 11th January 1806 A.D. between the British Government and the fugitive Marahatta Chief. At the same time a friendly treaty was entered into between the British Government and the Maharaja by which the latter was required to break all his connections with the Marahatta Chief as has already been detailed. In July 1806 A.D. he alongwith Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia, and other Chiefs, crossed the Satluj and exacted tribute from the Singh states and seized Ludhiana from the widows of Rai Ilias Khan. He proceeded as far as Ambala and then went towards the Kangra Hills. At this time Amar Singh Thapa, Commander of the Nepal army having reduced some petty Hill Rajas, laid siege to Kangra. Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra was aided by the Maharaja and the Gurkhas were obliged to raise the siege.

In 1807 A.D. Qasur was annexed and the rebellious Pathan Chief Kutb-ud-Din Khan was; on surrender, granted a tract of land in *Jagir*.

In April 1808 A.D. the British Government sent presents to the Maharaja with a view to strengthening their friendly relations with the Lahore Darbar. The agent was honourably received and on his departure, a valuable robe of state was bestowed upon him and precious presents for the British Government. Afterwards the British Government considered it necessary to enter into a defensive alliance with the Maharaja and despatched Mr. (afterwards Lord) C.T. Matcalfe, who was received by the Maharaja with due honours and respect at Qasur on 11th September 1808. Negotiations went on for a considerable period and at last a treaty was concluded at Amritsar on 25th April 1809, which was ratified by the Governor General in Council, Lord Minto, on 30th May 1809. By the terms of that treaty the common boundary between the two sovereign powers was fixed—the Satluj—and the Maharaja agreed not to attempt any conquest or to occupy territory south of that river, and withdrew all claims of sovereignty over the Singhs inhabiting that territory.

In the middle of 1809, the Maharaja seized territory belonging to the Kanhya *Misl*. In August of the same year, he stormed the fort of Kangra and compelled the Nepal Commander Amar Singh Thapa, who had again been investing that fort, to raise the siege and retire. Desa Singh Majithia was appointed as Commander of the fort and Governor of the Hill States of Kangra, Chamba, Nurpur, Kotla, Shahpur, Jasrota, Basoli, Mankot, Jaswan, Siba, Goler, Kahlur, Mandi, Suket, Kulu and Datarpur. Thereafter the Maharaja seized Hariana from the widow of Baghel Singh, and treacherously confined Bhup Singh, Chief of the Faizullapur Confederacy, and confiscated his dominions. Gujrat was occupied and Jammu conquered; the same year.

After this the Maharaja was engaged in reducing to complete subjugation the various Singh and Muhammadan Chiefs in the plains and the Hill Rajas of Bhimbar, Rajauri and other places.

In 1811 A.D. Shah Zaman, the King of Kabul, who was dethroned and blinded by his *Vazir*, came to Lahore. Later on Shah Shuja, his successor, fled from Kabul and came to the Maharaja. They were received with due respect and treated kindly and were allotted handsome allowances for their maintenance. Shah Shuja surrendered the famous diamond *Koh-i-Noor* to the Maharaja and got a *Jagir* of Rs.50,000 for his maintenance. Later on he conspired with the Governor of Kashmir for an attack upon Lahore and eventually escaped to the hills.

At the end of 1812 A.D. Fateh Khan, the *Vazir* of Kabul attacked and occupied Kashmir. Diwan Mohkam Chand, the renowned General of the Maharaja, accompanied him but the *Vazir* on some pretext, did not give the Maharaja his share of the spoils. This breach of faith ended in a battle on 13th July, 1813, near Attak, in which the *Vazir*, with his brother, Dost Muhammad Khan was routed.

At the end of 1814 A.D. Abdul Nabi Khan, the *Vakil* of the British Government, brought friendly letters and was received and dismissed with due honours and respect.

In March, 1817 A.D., a grand *Darbar* was held to which all Rajas and Chiefs were invited. Prince Kharak Singh was then

installed and enthroned as heir-apparent to the Lahore throne.

After that the Maharaja gained various other victories, and at the end of 1818 A.D. occupied Peshawar. In the middle of 1819 A.D. Kashmir was added to Lahore. After that Dera Gazi Khan was taken, and in 1821 Dera Ismail Khan surrendered. It would appear that by this time the power of the Maharaja had become consolidated and absolute throughout the whole Panjab proper, from the Satluj to the Indus. Peshawar and Hazara also were added to his dominions.

Mahammad Azim Khan, the Amir of Kabul, attacked Peshawar, where he reached on the 27th January 1824. Prince Sher Singh was sent to face him, and he was followed by Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa and others. A religious war was proclaimed, which attracted numerous tribesmen to the banner of the invader. The Maharaja also went to the front at the head of 15,000 horsemen. In order to delay his progress the boatmen concealed their boats and therefore he forded the Indus on the 13th March 1824. The incident of his fording this rapid, stony-bedded and extremely deep river is unprecedented in history and is still remembered by the people as a miracle. It is said that as soon as the Maharaja, in spite of many dissuasions, plunged his horse into the river, the water subsided as low as knee-deep as long as he remained in it, and immediately rose again when he got out of it and carried away several hundreds of those who were still lingering behind in the bed. The Maharaja is said to have stood in the river for a considerable period and witnessed his troops passing through it. The Afghans were completely defeated and routed in confusion with enormous slaughter, and the Maharaja entered the City of Peshawar on 17th March, 1824 and returned to Lahore in April following.

In December 1825, Sardar Fateh Singh Ahluwalia became suspicious of the intentions of his turban brother, the Maharaja, and went over to the British side for seeking protection. The Maharaja took possession of his territories on the North of the Satluj, but immediately reconciliation was effected and all his possessions with a few exceptions, were restored to him.

In the beginning of 1827 A.D. a Muhammadan fanatic, named Sayad Ahmad of Bareilly in Upper India, pretended to

be a religious reformer, and having migrated to the Yusufzai hills, induced the tribesmen to wage a religious war against the Singhs. He went on infesting the Peshawar valley and its neighbourhood until he was captured and slain by Prince Sher Singh in May 1831 A.D.

Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa remained at Peshawar as Commander-in-Chief, and in 1836 A.D. he built a fort at Jamrod to command the entrance of the Khaibar Pass. The Amir of Kabul was offended at this and despatched 7000 horsemen, 2000 matchlock men, and 18 guns under his five sons. They were joined by about 20,000 tribesmen and at the end of April 1837 A.D. attacked the fort of Jamrod, which was then unprovisioned and garrisoned by only 800 Singhs. The garrison boldly defended the fort for six days, when they were reinforced with troops from Peshawar. The Afghans were routed with heavy damages to life by the gallant General Hari Singh Nalwa. He inflicted on them a heavy loss during the pursuit. That General, however, was fatally wounded in the course of this pursuit. It was an irreparable loss to the Lahore Government. His undaunted courage and invincible spirit had made him known throughout the Maharaja's realm. The Afghans were very much afraid of him and his very name was enough to throw them into confusion and disorder. His name Haria is upto this time repeated by the mothers in Peshawar and its neighbourhood to frighten and silence their children.

On the death of that brave General, the Afghans laid siege to Jamrod. A large force hurried from Lahore, on whose arrival at Peshawar, the Afghans raised the siege and withdrew to Jalalabad without risking battle.

The Maharaja had, for some time, been suffering from paralysis, and all medicines having failed to cure; he died on the 27th June 1839 A.D. A little before he breathed his last, he gave twenty-five lakhs of rupees in alms to the poor and to various shrines of Singhs. He also proposed, on his death-bed, to give the world-wide known, the biggest diamond in the world, the *Koh-i-Noor*, in alms, but he was prevented by the courtiers from doing so.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh had risen from an ordinary Chief of the Sukarchakia *Misl* into a mighty sovereign power, and in a

few years, he had conquered the whole of the Panjab, Kashmir and Jammu, and most of the neighbouring Hill Rajas became his tributaries. Although his political career presents us with many woeful tales of a vile craft and treachery which brought about the sudden collapse of his kingdom, he honourably observed all his engagements with the British paramount power after the treaty of April 1809 A.D. was drawn up until his death in 1839 A.D. Presents were several times exchanged between the two sovereign powers and there was also an exchange of visits between the Maharaja and the British Viceroy. His stature was short and he was disfigured by smallpox, but he was a model soldier; strong, spare, painstaking, courageous, enduring and an excellent horseman. He was altogether illiterate, but a capable and competent statesman, with a natural genius of command and diplomacy, and complete ascendancy over his Court and subordinate Chiefs. He was greedy and avaricious, but at the same time, he was exceedingly generous in appreciating and rewarding good service and in granting large estates or revenue assignments to his favourites.

CHAPTER XV

SUCCESSORS OF RANJIT SINGH

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was succeeded by his eldest and legitimate son, Kharak Singh, who ascended the throne and was acknowledged Maharaja of the Panjab. He was of a weak intellect, and proved an imbecile sovereign and an incompetent statesman. He was much addicted to the use of opium and played the part of a puppet in the hands of one Chet Singh, a worthless sycophant. As is generally the case with such rascals, he began to form plots, and fell himself into one of those pits he was preparing for others. On 8th October 1839 A.D. he was killed in the royal palace, in the presence of his royal master, the Maharaja, who was permitted to abdicate and retire to his princely abode. Prince Nau Nihal Singh, his only son assumed the reins of the State. Kharak Singh died on 5th November 1840 A.D. and the young Prince was crushed by the fall of a huge mass of masonry while he was getting through the archway of the northern gate of the Hazuri Bag. He was returning home after performing the last rites on the pyre of his father. The cause of this fall is still a mystery. Some say it was accidental and others maintain it to have been the result of a plot. Kharak Singh died in his thirty-eighth year and his son was killed while only twenty. Nau Nihal Singh promised to be an able and vigorous ruler and "had his life been spared and had not English policy partly forestalled him, he would have found," says Cunningham, "an ample field for his ambition in Sindh, in Afghanistan, and beyond the Hindoo Kush and he might, perhaps, at last have boasted that the inroads of Mehmood and of Tymoor had been fully avenged by the aroused peasants of India."

After this sad tragedy was enacted, two factions were

formed, one desiring Maharani Chand Kaur, mother of the deceased Prince Nau Nihal Singh, to ascend the throne and the other favouring the ascendancy of Sher Singh, reputed son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. However the Maharani succeeded as regent for the expected offspring of deceased Nau Nihal Singh. She was assisted by a State Council of four Sardars.

The Lahore Darbar became then an arena of intrigues and plots. The Dogra element though called Singh, were really not Singhs being without the *pabul* initiation. They were the chief actors on those intrigues and counter intrigues which, according to historians, practically began with the rise of Chet Singh into the royal favour and ended with the destruction and annihilation of the Khalsa ascendancy. As a result of these machinations Sher Singh besieged Lahore with a large army of 70,000 men and fighting went on for several days. A compromise was effected by which Sher Singh, on 18th January 1841 A.D. was seated on the throne of Lahore and the Maharani was granted a *Jagir* of nine lakhs adjoining the Jammu hills and Raja Gulab Singh was appointed its manager. The Raja on the pretext of safe custody carried away to Jammu all the money and valuables belonging to the Maharani. Soon after the ascension of Sher Singh, the pay of the soldiery was permanently raised, but still for various reasons it became discontented and suspicious. It became turbulent and difficult to control until the threat of British intervention restored order.

Maharaja Sher Singh, with all his faults and vices became a good civil administrator, but the intrigues of his court became too high to subside. Raja Dhian Singh, his Minister, had his own selfish ends in view; his brother Raja Gulab Singh had no other motive except self-aggrandisement at any cost. The Sandhanwalia Sardars wanted their own supremacy and acted their part in such a way that the *Vazir* and his master became unconscious murderers of each other. These Sardars insinuated themselves into the confidence of both the Maharaja and Raja Dhian Singh and cunningly obtained death warrants for each from the other, and dealt a simultaneous blow upon both of them while each was anticipating the assassination of the other. The Maharaja was put off his guard and on the morning of 15th September, 1843 A.D. Ajit Singh, one of the Sandhanwalia Sardars,

pretended to offer him a choice carbine and shot him dead. Lahna Singh Sandhanwalia, remorselessly and in cold blood, at the same time assassinated the heir-apparent, Prince Partap Singh, a lad of twelve, who was engaged in prayers and the distribution of alms. Now it was the *Vazir's* turn to taste his fate. He was enticed away from his body-guard and was shot dead.

The assassins now tried to despatch the deceased Raja Dhian Singh's son Hira Singh and his brother Raja Suchet Singh. They failed in their attempt and proclaimed Dalip Singh, the youngest son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who was four years old, as sovereign, with Sardar Ajit Singh as his *Vazir*. When Hira Singh heard of the triple murder of his father, his sovereign and the heir-apparent, he prevailed upon the army by promises to avenge the murders. About 40,000 troops were collected in a very short time and the fort of Lahore, wherein the murderers had shut themselves up, was invested in the evening. A heavy bombardment was commenced and maintained till nine o'clock of the following morning when a breach was effected through which the soldiery entered the fort and the garrison was put to sword. Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia escaped from the fort, but was pursued, and his head was cut off and brought to Raja Hira Singh. Sardar Lahna Singh concealed himself in a subterranean drain but was found and his head was immediately severed from the trunk. The fort was plundered by the victors and as soon as Raja Hira Singh came in complete possession of it, he paid his homage to the young Maharaja Dalip Singh and then arrested and despatched in cold blood all those who were in anyway concerned in the triple murder. Attar Singh Sandhanwalia who was hurrying upto the aid of the Sandhanwalia assassins, learning their fate, precipitately fled and eventually sought protection in the British territory to the south of the Satluj. It is stated that on this occasion all Sandhanwalias were punished with death, forfeiture of property or banishment, except Sardar Shamsher Singh, who was an avowed and known enemy of the other Sandhanwalias.

When all these blood avenging operations were over, Dalip Singh was proclaimed Maharaja and his succession was acknowledged by all. Raja Hira Singh became his *Vazir*.

Although Hira Singh was well educated in the politics of the time, yet he was too young and inexperienced to serve in the ruffled state of affairs, and as a consequence, he fell under the influence of a crafty and fanatic Brahman, named Jalla. He kept on amusing the *Vazir* with myths and false prophecies to the prejudice of the State affairs. Raja Suchet Singh, the younger brother of Raja Gulab Singh, became jealous of the young *Vazir*, his nephew, and aspired to his office. He, therefore, enlisted the support of the young Maharaja's mother, Rani Jindan. Raja Gulab Singh, who had for some time past, managed to keep aloof in the Jammu hills, was sent for by the young *Vazir*, but he failed to bring about reconciliation between his relations. Therefore he prudently withdrew to Jammu with his brother, Raja Suchet Singh.

At about the same time, the young *Vazir* got suspicious of Princes Kashmira Singh and Pashawra Singh. They held Sialkot and Gujranwala respectively as patrimony from their father. Now the *Vazir* was bent upon their destruction. He considered them among the claimants to the throne and his own position insecure in consequence. Excuses were not wanting, and the Princes were eventually compelled to give up their possessions. This action of the *Vazir* was greatly resented by the army and he became a suspected character. The Khalsa army refused to fight against the Princes, and the *Vazir* became virtually a prisoner of the army, until the safety of the princes and their property was assured. When he was released, it was upon the express condition of the exclusion of the obnoxious Jalla Pandit from all state affairs, and of the release from confinement of Sardar Jawahar Singh, maternal uncle of the young Maharaja. Jawahar Singh was a rival of Raja Hira Singh, being an aspirant to the office of *Vazir*.

The anarchy and disorder in the court of Lahore had put the whole country into confusion and commotion, and no revenue could be collected. Large arrears became due and the Royal treasury got depleted due to the payment of enhanced salaries or the plunder of court officials. Among the heavy defaulters were Fateh Khan, the Tiwana Chief, who was suspected of being privy to the assassination of Maharaja Sher Singh. He fled to Dera Ismail Khan and became rebellious. Large

sums were due from Rajas Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh who resented the earnest demand for payment. The conduct of Raja Hira Singh towards the Princes; Kashmira Singh and Pashawra Singh, the accumulation of arrears, the pressure used for their recovery and other causes greatly lowered him in the public estimation, created enemies and caused disaffection among the Khalsa troops. Raja Suchet Singh who, though absent from Lahore, was ever busy in supplanting Hira Singh, watched this opportunity with great interest, and came to Lahore for his destruction, but after a brave stand, he was killed alongwith a handful of his devoted followers.

At this junction Sardar Attar Singh Sandhanwalia, who had escaped after the assassination of the Maharaja, claimed the office of *Vazir* as of right and enlisting the support of Baba Bir Singh (Naurangabadi), a holy man, marched upon Lahore. Princes Kashmira Singh and Pashawra Singh, joined him. The Khalsa troops, under the orders of Raja Hira Singh, encountered them. The Sardar, the Baba and Prince Kashmira Singh were killed and their army dispersed. Prince Pashawra Singh then came to Lahore and his lands and *Jagirs* were restored to him.

When the field was thus cleared of his enemies, Raja Hira Singh felt himself in perfect security and with that feeling his arrogance and haughtiness of temper increased. The insults he poured upon the gentry became intolerable. His bosom friend and idol, the hated Pandit Jalla, assumed a demeanour which became much more offensive than that of the *Vazir* himself. He became so daring that he openly threatened and abused the mother of the Maharaja. The whole Khalsa Army was offended and meditated upon their annihilation. Hira Singh, perceiving that his end was near, fled towards Jammu taking alongwith him his favourite protege, the Pandit, his treasure and all valuables. They were overtaken on their way by the Khalsa army and cut to pieces on 21st December 1844. Their heads were brought to Lahore and subjected to the greatest indignities. With the annihilation of Raja Hira Singh and his band, the Jammu element became practically extinct in the Lahore Darbar and Sardar Jawahar Singh the maternal uncle of the infant Maharaja, became *Vazir*. He was associated with Raja Lal Singh, a Brahman. As Raja Gulab Singh had been seriously in arrears,

an army was sent to Jammu and demand was made for payment of a fine of three crores of rupees and restoration of all the property belonging to the deceased Rajas Suchet Singh and Hira Singh. In April 1845 A.D. he found himself unable to meet the attack. By distribution of money and other means, therefore, he succeeded in averting the calamity of a war and the plunder of Jammu and contrived to come under military surveillance of Lahore. On his arrival at Lahore, the mother of the Maharaja was satisfied with all the accounts he rendered of himself, and he was appointed *Vazir* taking charge of his office on the 14th May 1845 A.D. The Brahman, Lal Singh, who was destined to play a notoriously destructive part against the Khalsa Commonwealth; was at the same time granted the title of Raja.

Sardar Jawahar Singh, the maternal uncle of the Maharaja, was yet informally holding the post of *Vazir*, and resented his own supersession. Raja Gulab Singh, therefore, considered it advisable to vacate the post in favour of that Sardar and agreeing to pay a fine of Rs. 68,00,000 and giving up almost all that the Lahore Darbar demanded of him, shorn of much real power and income, at the end of August 1845, prudently withdrew to Jammu.

Complications again rose in connection with the Prince Pashawra Singh with regard to which Raja Gulab Singh is blamed for having caused a rupture in the Lahore Darbar. On the one hand, the Prince was promised aid and persuaded to claim the throne and on the other Jawahar Singh was excited to get rid of him in anyway. The real design was to remove Jawahar Singh and he was sure to meet certain death at the hands of the Khalsa army on, opening up the hostilities with the Prince or injuring his person or property. The Prince revolted and occupied the fort of Attak and was subsequently; secretly and treacherously put to death by Fateh Khan Tiwana, a personal friend of Jawahar Singh. Through his exertions, the Tiwana had again found favour with the Lahore Darbar, after his rebellion. He was granted *Jagir* of Rs. 50,000 as a price for the head of the Prince, and on hearing this the soldiery were exasperated against Jawahar Singh and he was doomed to death as a traitor. On the 21st September 1845, while humbly craving pardon and life, he was attacked and killed by the troops. The

queen-mother tried to avenge the death of her brother upon the soldiery and the blame for the conspiracy was fixed on the Dogra element.

The fatal office of *Vazir* was offered to some high functionaries, but they refused to accept it. Raja Lal Singh expressed his willingness to accept but the army disapproved of his appointment. The Rani, therefore, personally conducted the affairs of the state for some time. She was assisted by Diwan Dina Nath Accountant, Bhagat Ram Paymaster and the well known Faqir brothers Nur-ud-Din and Aziz-ud-Din. The army had confidence in their integrity and talents and the arrangement appears to have met with general approval. The Rani, however, was helped by Raja Lal Singh as her *Vazir*, although the appointment was not recognized by the public, and his evil councils were contrived for the destruction of the army, which seemed to him an unwieldy engine and too strong a machine to control. The attention of the leaders was diverted to war with the British, paramount power in India. With a view to excite the army to action, myths were fabricated and false reports and rumours circulated that the British were meditating an attack upon the Panjab. By misleading the army, Raja Lal Singh, early in November 1845 got the appointment of *Vazir*, and Raja Teja Singh, who was a Brahman of the Merut, District, (now Uttar Pradesh) was appointed Commander-in-Chief. When such characters became both military and administrative heads of the Khalsa Commonwealth, its ruin and destruction were inevitable. The internal commotion had hardly subsided before these traitors assumed authority to lead the army to its fatal dispersion and destruction. Various reasons were contrived for waging a war against the English and it was declared on the 17th November 1845. The ill-fated army began to move ill-provisioned, with no treasure and empty munition boxes. On 11th December it began to cross the common boundary fixed by the treaty of 1809 A.D. and took up a position near firozpur in the British territory on the 14th of that month.

The British Government had anticipated all this and defensive works had long been in progress. They encountered the Khalsa army at Mudki on the 18th December. While the fight was fiercely raging, the traitor Lal Singh, according to his

treacherous designs formed beforehand, suddenly abandoned the field with his men with a view to setting an example to the whole army for a general flight. At the same time cries of defeat and 'Run away' were raised in order to induce the soldiery to flee. The conduct of Raja Teja Singh was equally condemnable. He also, after making feints precipitately fled and succeeded, on the 22nd December in bringing about final defeat and dispersion of his army. In order to accomplish their treason fully, the traitor administrative heads had suspended the long prevailing system of *panchayats* or army councils so that the leaders might not in anyway suspect the treason. It is undesirable that we should go into all the painful details of the treason. Suffice it to say that the rank leaders fought as bravely as they could and their valour will be known and appreciated as long as history exists. The headless, misdirected and duped Khalsa army fought with unprecedented valour and bravery and met its pre-arranged and ill-conceived fate.

The scattered troops rallied again and marched on Ludhiana. On 21st January 1846 a sharp skirmish took place at Baddowal in which the Singhs became victorious, and the shameless traitors Lal Singh and Teja Singh "shrank within themselves with fear." Raja Gulab Singh "who had been spontaneously hailed as minister and leader, began to think that the Khalsa was really formidable far greater than himself." On 27th January Raja Gulab Singh was appointed minister in place of Lal Singh and he came to Lahore. Rani Jind Kaur directed her conspirators to thoroughly complete the work of destruction of the army, failing which she and the traitors were sure to get their deserved reward of ignoble death. On 28th January a fierce battle was fought at Aliwal, and a traitorous defeat and dispersion was again managed through non-Khalsa and indifferent forces whilst the leaderless and forlorn Khalsa perished fighting with a resolution worthy of their name. The dispersed Khalsa troops were again regrouped and arrangements for their complete and final destruction were made. The supply of treasure, food and all the munitions of war had in the first instance been slow and passive, but later on it was denied and the soldiery were required to make their own arrangements. The supply of gunpowder was not only stopped, but in order

to complete the fraud, bags of *sarson* (a species of mustard, *sinapis dichotoma*) were supplied.

The fight commenced again at Sabraon on the 10th February and the Khalsa troops had hardly contested the ground when the general conflict began and the fraud was discovered. The cannons stopped firing. Even the gunners had to engage the enemy in a hand to hand fight and contested every inch of ground. Seeing this stubborn spirit of the Khalsa, the traitors again came on the stage to play their part. When his co-operation was extremely wanted "the traitor Teja Singh, indeed, instead of leading fresh men to sustain the failing strength of the troops on his right, fled on the first assault. During his retreat, he sank a boat in the middle of the bridge over the river with a view to render impossible the re-crossing of the Khalsa army on their defeat, which, under the circumstances, was sure and certain. Sardar Sham Singh of Attari, a faithful Sardar of the Khalsa and a true devotee of the Guru, had in the beginning dissuaded the Khalsa from hazarding war against a formidable power like the English, and when it was once undertaken, he vowed to win or die. On the last day, he attired himself in white and gallantly rallied the shattered ranks again and again and, amid showers of balls, galloped his horse from one end to the other end of the field encouraging and exciting his troops to action, until he drank the cup of martyrdom along-with the brave. The fate of the Khalsa was sealed. They had no leader and most of them perished either in the field or in their attempts to ford the swollen river.

The victors crossed the Satluj and on 12th February occupied the fort of Qasur without opposition. The Governor-General joined the camp of the Commander-in-Chief there on the 15th. The British Government, of course, was compelled to engage in an unprovoked war, but expressed its intention not to occupy the Panjab, but to evacuate it on payment of full indemnity for the aggression on the British possession against the terms of the treaty of 1809. It was announced that the British would evacuate the Panjab when satisfactory arrangements had been made for the future government of Lahore so that similar hostile movements might not recur on the British frontier. The people, especially the inhabitants of

cities like Lahore, were greatly afraid of being plundered as had usually been the case on the arrival of a victor, but they were fully assured that unless hostilities were renewed by the Lahore Darbar or the Khalsa army, the person and property of every individual was perfectly safe and secure. The announcement was faithfully acted up to.

The British Government demanded the territory between the Satluj and Bias Rivers, with one and a half crore of rupees or one and half a million sterling as indemnity for war expenses. On 15th February a deputation, consisting of Raja Gulab Singh, Diwan Dina Nath, Faqir Nur-ud-Din and Sardar Sultan Muhammad Khan, the Barakzai Chief, waited upon the Governor-General at Qasur and asked for British clemency. Terms of peace were settled and the necessary document was drawn up by which the British Government got what they wanted. The young Maharaja came to Laliani and personally tendered his submission on the 18th. His Excellency, the Governor-General arrived at Lahore on the 20th February and garrisoned the fort with English regiments as a sign of divine justice that the most unruly, wanton and vaunting army was crushed within a short period of sixty days. The new treaty between the British Government and the Lahore Darbar was signed on the 8th March 1846 and ratified by His Excellency the following day. As the full amount of indemnity could not be procured from the Lahore treasury, the hill Country between the Bias and the Sutlej was ceded to the British Government as the equivalent of one crore. As Raja Gulab Singh was considered to have rendered useful service to the Lahore Government, especially in concluding the peace, he was recognised as independent sovereign of the hill territories referred to, with some conditions, on payment of the stipulated sum of one crore of rupees or one million of pounds sterling. On 15th March 1846 he was formally invested with the title of Maharaja.

It appears that at the conclusion of the war, the traitor and enemy of the Khalsa Commonwealth, Raja Lal Singh was elated with the success of all his treason. He had attempted the ruin of the Khalsa Commonwealth simply for his own aggrandisement and succeeded at the close of the treaty, in attaining the much

coveted office of *Vazir*, so that the little that was, through the clemency and mercy of the British Government saved, might be lost for ever.

Raja Teja Singh presumed that he would get some reward for his treason but he appears to have been chided by the British Government for his behaviour.

Rani Jindan, the mother of the young Maharaja, was recognized as Regent of the State. Her minister and other traitorous Chiefs fully understood that their position was difficult to maintain. Although the army was reduced, the apprehension of their own treason rendered them timid like thieves. Of course, if Raja Gulab Singh had assumed the *vizarat*, the case might have been different, but as it was, English help was quite indispensable. Therefore a treaty was drawn up on 11th March 1846 by which a British Officer was left at Lahore till the end of December 1846 for the 'safety' of the minister and his associate Chiefs. As every traitor is bound to have his award, Lal Singh was involved in the resistance made by Shaikh Imam-ud-Din in making over possession of Kashmir to Raja Gulab Singh. The Raja was tried on 3rd and 4th December, 1846 and banished to Benares on a pension. Afterwards a Council of Regency was formed and the British protection was solicited until 4th September 1854 when the minority of the Maharaja Dalip Singh was to end. It was granted accordingly and a new treaty was drawn up on 16th December 1846.

In 1848 Diwan Mul Raj, the Governor of Multan, revolted and after a protracted contest he was compelled to surrender on 22nd January 1849. He was tried by a court martial and was imprisoned for life.

In the meantime Rani Jindan concerned herself in various intrigues and began to invest the court. At last she was banished to Benares, as her presence in the Panjab was found to be quite injurious to the interests of the Lahore Government.

After the punishment awarded to Diwan Mul Raj, there was another rebellion of the Singhs. Several battles were fought, but the most memorable of them was at Chilianwala in the Gujrat District which cost several thousands of lives. The last of them was fought at Gujrat. A son of Dost Mahammad Khan, the Amir of Kabul, had joined the rebels with 3,000 Afghans. In the end,

the British were victorious and the rebels were utterly humbled on 21st February 1849.

When these rebellions and disturbances came to an end, the British Government deemed it desirable both for their own security and the interests of the people, to annex the Panjab to the British Empire, and by a proclamation, dated 29th March 1849, the territory of the Lahore Darbar was forfeited to the British Government. A pension of five lakhs of rupees per annum was conferred on the young Maharaja Dalip Singh and the whole of the state property was confiscated. The country, which for centuries past, had been the theatre of war, bloodshed and carnage, religious intolerance and anarchy, got the assurance that "that British Government shall leave to all the people whether Mussalmans, or Hindus or Sikhs, the free exercise of their own religion, but it will not permit any man to interfere with others in the observance of such forms and customs as their respective religions may either enjoin or permit." With this proclamation ended the sovereignty of the great Sukerchakia dynasty.

CONCLUSION OF PART I

In concluding this historical part of our work, we deem it proper to ask our readers to reflect and portray before their mental eyes the whole period of 380 years, from the birth of Guru Nanak to the advent of the English in 1849 A.D. What oppressions were practised upon Hindus in general and upon the Khalsa nation in particular, and how the great drama between the oppressor and the oppressed, the ruler and the ruled was enacted, can well be pictured from the brief sketch we have given. During the time of a tyrannical Government, political turmoil, religious persecutions, social degradation and spiritual degeneracy, Guru Nanak was born to bring about a grand, noble and sublime reform and to remove the oppression. How spirit was infused into a fallen and degraded people, how their morals were raised, how faith was made firm and unswerving are the topics which form the subject of the next part; but the part to which we are just going to bid farewell, has led us through both the ascetic and martial careers of the

Gurus, and a lengthy succession of bloody dramas in which an immense quantity of innocent blood was shed by the tyrant. At the same time, as far as possible, we have tried to show how retributive justice was dealt to the oppressor, and how and with what sacrifice through a long and bloody struggle of about a century, a vast and mighty Empire was wrecked, shattered and finally overthrown by a devoted and oppressed few. Leaving all this aside, the carnage and destruction of life between the period of the advent of Banda Bahadur into the Panjab, and the establishment of the Empire of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, present a horrible scene. How anarchy and military disorder prevailed, intrigues and counter-intrigues ruled, treason swayed and the Khalsa Empire collapsed immediately when the Lion of the Panjab, the great Maharaja, was no more, have a history of their own. They remind us how all the players appear on the stage of this grand and never-ending earthly theatre, and after playing their parts and leaving their names good or bad, to be remembered with applause or curse by the generations following, retire behind the curtain to reflect upon and receive reward or punishment from the master of the great theatre. How order was restored, good, benign and constitutional Government established, religious toleration, and general peace proclaimed, and freedom from anxiety reigned on the annexation of the Panjab by the British Government, are matters which we leave for the reader to draw conclusions from for himself, and we proceed to deal with the matter, which has been the real object of our present undertaking.

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Prithipal Singh Kapur, well known historian and educationist, has been the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar and Director, Punjab State University Text Book Board. He also served as Editor-in-Chief of the Encyclopaedia of Sikhism at Punjabi University, Patiala. He wrote/ edited more than a dozen books on Sikh history including *Jassa Singh Ramgarhia* (Pbi.), *Punjab da Virsa* (Pbi.), *Master Tara Singh : Itihasak Pakh Ton* (Pbi.), *The Divine Master : Life & Teachings of Guru Nanak* (edited).

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